

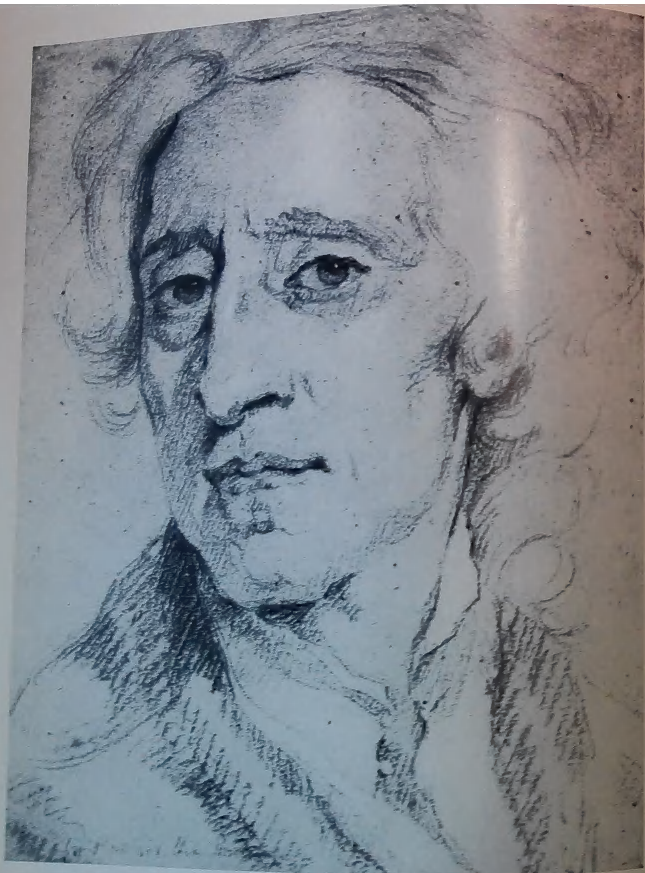
Kneller's drawing of Locke in the possession of Mr. Paul Mellon, Oak Spring, Virginia, U.S.A.

THE LIBRARY OF JOHN LOCKE

BY
JOHN HARRISON
AND
PETER LASLETT

SECOND EDITION

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1971



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PREFACE

Dear Sir,

I might number my days (and it is a pleasant sort of almanack) by the kindnesses I receive from you. Your packet by my cousin King I received and have reason to thank you for all the particulars in it. However you thought fit to prepare me for being disappointed in the binding my Greek Testament, there is nothing in it that offends me but the running of his paring knife too deep into the margin, a knavish and intolerable fault in all our English bookbinders. Books seem to me to be pestilent things, and infect all that trade in them, i.e. all but one sort of men, with something very perverse and brutal. Printers, binders, sellers and others that make a trade and gain out of them have universally so odd a turn and corruption of mind that they have a way of dealing peculiar to themselves, and not conformed to the good of society, and that general fairness that cements mankind. Whether it be that those instruments of truth and knowledge will not bear being subjected to any thing but those noble ends, without revenging themselves on those who meddle with them to any other purpose, and prostitute them to mean and misbecoming designs, I will not enquire. The matter of fact I think you will find true, and there we will leave it to those who sully themselves with printers' ink till they wholly expunge all the candour that nature gives and become the worst sort of black cattle.

So wrote John Locke to his young friend Anthony Collins on 9 June 1704. What the great man says here about books and everyone concerned with them may be read as a final judgement, for he was to die within the year. The sardonic savagery of his sentences must make anyone hesitate who would like to think of him as a booklover, or even as a literary man well pleased with the literary life, the duties it imposes and the objects which it brings into being. No twentieth-century observer, however, would find difficulty in construing these fierce statements as a confession of disappointed love, betraying an affection for books so profound that the man was inevitably discontented with the books he wrote, with the books he owned, with those who printed, published, sold, and bound them. Here was one so enslaved to the bibliophile's passion that nothing in the everyday world of book-making and book preserving could be anything but unsatisfactory. But we have not sullied ourselves with printer's ink simply to demonstrate a half-convincing paradox. We have tried to carry out a duty to the student of Locke and of intellectual history, to those interested in the history of libraries and in the practice of librarianship—not least to the book-lovers of our own day. Though promised as long ago as 1960, when the critical edition of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* was first published, complete with reference numbers to this catalogue, it has taken even longer than we hoped. The work has been very unevenly divided between us.

John Harrison is almost entirely responsible for the catalogue itself; he has carried out the wearisome tasks of identifying, checking, and describing the books—all the really difficult and exacting things. The work for the appendixes, the composition of the various

tables, and the inspection of those volumes of Locke's which survive, have all been done by him, and this last job has gone forward in many places very different from each other. Much of the preliminary part of it had to be undertaken on the shores of Loch Torridon a very long way from books of reference; more recently it has been possible to continue at Cambridge, with important visits to Virginia, Cambridge, Massachusetts, New Haven, and so on. There have been so many vicissitudes since the first rough slips were made out on the back of old Cambridge examination papers in December 1950 that there must inevitably be many slips and misunderstandings. We only hope that the number is not excessive, and that corrections will be sent to us.

Peter Laslett takes responsibility for all the statements made in the essay on Locke and his books, and the lines of research and interpretation have been laid down by him. Most interesting of course was the solution of Locke's little codes, if that is the right word for them: the meaning of his two-tier numbers (press-marks); the connexion of his system of short reference with the underlining of digits of the date of publication and the overlining of the pagination; the significance of the numbers in the lower margin of page 11 (price-marks), of the letters *bc* to be found near Locke's signature. It was John Harrison, however, who determined that the upper one of the two-tier numbers was the size of the book, in inches; and it was he who worked out the shelf list of the library. Both of us share in the admission that the most extensive of Locke's codes, and the most code-like of them, has as yet defeated us, the one from which the insignificant little letters, figures, and signs on some of his title-pages must come. Our defence is that there has been too little depth, as the cryptographers say, too few occurrences to make even intelligent guesswork possible.

Although this book has taken so much time and so much work, we have to concede that it is in some ways a preliminary one, and will probably have to be superseded. Two of the undertakings essential to the full understanding of John Locke and his books have still to be completed; the systematic search for items surviving from his library and the systematic study of his manuscripts for references to buying, binding, reading, borrowing, and lending of books.

As to the first, we have had to be content to record the whereabouts of items we happened to have got to know about, and to include here particulars when we happen to have them. There must be large numbers of other volumes, which Locke possessed, scattered amongst libraries, public and private, throughout the world. Amongst them are, we believe, many things which scholars would rejoice to see again, things like the copy of the French translation of his *Essay* which Locke seems to have corrected and presented to Damaris Masham, and which was lost to view in 1883. We hope that the appearance of this catalogue will persuade owners and guardians of such books to report them to us, and

that some day there may be a revised version of this work, much more complete as to locations. As for the second of our unfulfilled tasks, it may well have to be undertaken as a research subject in itself. Its completion would undoubtedly lead to revision of what we publish here, especially of the statements made in the introduction.

The variety of readers to whom this book is addressed, from the exact and niggling scholars concentrating on detailed textual points, to the bookman interested only in Locke's collecting habits, has put us into a quandary as authors. We are well aware that the gossip about Locke's life at Otes consorts uncomfortably with the precise methods we have had to use to make his incredibly elaborate library practices intelligible. We have considered various ways of splitting up what we have to say so that the generally interesting should be separate from the scholarly intricate. The section on editing Locke's master-catalogue for publication, for example, might have been made into an appendix.

But, however ill-advisedly, we have decided to leave what has been written as a continuous piece of prose. Books, as we have emphasized more than once, were part of the life of the philosopher Locke, and his was not a life which corresponds to the dry-as-dust stereotype created by Sir Walter Scott. Complicated and exasperating as some of the details we have to discuss may be, they were a part of the living man and they are a part of our task in presenting him to our own generation.

We have to acknowledge a very long series of personal debts for help with this volume. In its earlier phases the work was subsidized from the Fellows' Research Fund of Trinity College, Cambridge, and since 1960 we have received very generous assistance from Paul Mellon. The Earl of Lovelace entertained us whilst the books were in his possession, and we owe a great deal to the co-operation and the friendship of Messrs. Lionel and Philip Robinson who negotiated the sale. Perhaps this is the appropriate place to record the very remarkable work of binding and restoration which was carried out on the books whilst they were under their care; every future student of Locke and every lover of old books will be indebted to the late Mr. Charles Smart who was responsible for the carrying out of this difficult and delicate task, but who died just before it was complete.

Lars Hanson of the Bodleian Library has done much for this book; so has Tim Munby, Piero Sraffa, Geoffrey Keynes, John Oates, and William A. Jackson of Harvard (it was he who first discovered and printed Locke's appreciation of the book trade of his day),¹ James M. Osborn of Yale and many other owners and custodians of books from Locke's

¹ Our version of Locke's letter is modernized from the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library catalogue, compiled by E. V. Unger and W. A. Jackson, vol. 2, opposite p. 614, New York, 1940. Locke's Dutch bookseller, the famous Abraham Weinstein, wrote to him in 1688 flattering his fussiness about bookbinding in almost the same words which Locke used in 1704. One of his purchases had been spoiled and Weinstein had forced the culprit to bind a new copy for Locke. This letter also shows Weinstein passing on an opinion of one of Locke's published works and acting towards him in the way the Churchills were to do in the 1690s. Letter dated 30 June 1688 found in No. 558, *Kabbala Denudata*.

library have been of considerable assistance. Several of the research students who have been working with Peter Laslett on Lockeian and allied subjects have been very helpful, particularly those from the United States: Gordon Schochet, late of Johns Hopkins, and James Axtell, late of Yale. We are grateful to Esmond de Beer who is editing Locke's correspondence and to the staff of the Bodleian Library. Willis Van Devanter, librarian at the Brick House, Upperville, Virginia, where the books now stand, has been our unfailing friend. We could not have finished this book in its present form without his help.

An attempt has been made elsewhere to acknowledge the extraordinary generosity shown by Paul Mellon in buying from Lord Lovelace for the Bodleian Library the King moiety of Locke's books, and in restoring, embellishing, and extending it whilst it remains in his possession. We ourselves can only respond by dedicating this work to him.

June 1964

P. L.
J. H.

I SHOULD like to take the opportunity of this Second Edition to repair an omission from the original Preface. My personal debt to Mrs. Florence Trefethen of Lexington, Massachusetts, for her extraordinary patience, skill, and good nature in reading and correcting an earlier version of my introductory Essay to this book should have been warmly acknowledged there. I now record my gratitude to her for all she did at my request to improve the exposition of a complicated theme.

We have taken occasion to amend one or two errors in the book pointed out by reviewers, especially Mr. Esmond de Beer, and to correct a few slips of composition.

P. L.

The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences
Stanford, California
April 1968

SINCE almost three years have passed between the signing of the above addendum to our original preface and the final passing of proof to the press of this new edition, a further note of acknowledgement may be in order. It registers our gratitude to the Clarendon Press for undertaking an independent edition of our book. Various minor alterations and additions have been made to our copy during the interval, and thanks are due to several helpful people, including Mr. John Biddle.

J. H.
P. L.

University Library, Cambridge
1 January 1971

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
I. JOHN LOCKE AND HIS BOOKS	
<i>An Essay by PETER LASLETT</i>	
I. Locke the Book Collector	I
II. Development of the Library	II
III. Composition of the Final Collection	18
IV. Locke's Library Practice	30
V. Editing Locke's Master Catalogue	42
VI. Descent of Locke's Books	54
ADDENDUM <i>Signs and Conventions</i>	63
II. LOCKE'S LIBRARY CATALOGUE	67
APPENDIXES	
I. Locke's Library in Christ Church, Oxford, July 1681	269
II. A. Books bearing Locke's Paraph	278
B. Interleaved Books in Locke's Library	279
C. Books with Notes and/or Page Lists by Locke	280
III. Sources of Non-Hyde Entries	285
IV. Division of Locke's Library: King-Masham Lists	288
V. Subject Index of Locke's Library	292
LIST OF AUTHORITIES	309
INDEX	310

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Kneller's Drawing of Locke	Frontispiece
The Manor House at Otes late in the Eighteenth Century	text p. 7
Note of Isaac Newton's written by Locke in an interleaved Bible	
Registrations of Books by Robert Boyle, on Printed Page and opposing Interleaf in Locke's Master Catalogue	
A Vellum and a Calf Binding from the library, illustrating Press-marks	
Underlining, Overlining, Paraph and Signature, in <i>Du Gouvernement Civil</i>	between pages 66 and 67
Recording of Price in Lower Margin of page 11 of <i>Florus</i> [1146]	
Damaris Masham's Writing (and seal of affection) in an interleaved Bible	
Use of Signs on Title-page and in the Master Catalogue	
Page of Master Catalogue showing a Note made from <i>Varillas</i> [3054]	

JOHN LOCKE AND HIS BOOKS

An Essay by PETER LASLETT

I. LOCKE THE BOOK COLLECTOR

THE works which gave birth to our intellectual world were written in the study. Before the coming of printing, books were too scarce for one man to own a large enough number to enable him to work by himself in the loneliness of his own room lined with just the volumes he needed. The medieval writer, therefore, had to spend his time in libraries.

So must we, but for the opposite reason. Books are now so plentiful that no one could possess all those necessary to compose his writings; no study could be large enough to house them. Only in Europe and during the first two centuries after printing began, the first two centuries of modern history as it used to be called, could a man hope to build up for himself a collection of books so complete that nearly all his work as an author might be done with their aid alone. These were the centuries of the eminent *virtuosi* and the comprehensive scholars.

John Locke was one of the greatest of the Englishmen amongst them, and his collection of books, his working scholar's library, is the subject of this volume. When he died sitting in his study in October 1704, at the age of seventy-two, he was surrounded by about 3,000 volumes, housed in boxes around the room and in his chamber above. His library is best looked upon as assembled primarily for use rather than as a collection of rare, beautiful, or curious things. Yet it seems unlikely that the volumes to be discussed and listed here were all accessible to him when he composed his own famous works. To understand why this is so and to get an idea of the way in which his library grew, it is necessary to know a little of his life.

From the beginning, Locke enjoyed one important prerequisite for the collector of books, money to spend as he pleased. He was the eldest and only surviving child of a modest landed gentleman, John Locke senior, of Belluton in the County of Somerset. When the father died in 1661, and he was twenty-eight, John Locke, the man of letters, became sole possessor of the family property. It was no large patrimony and probably never brought him much more than a hundred pounds a year, if as much as that; and there were the usual allowances to relatives. But, since Locke never lived on his estate, never married, and never

maintained his own establishment, the money was free for spending. Besides his rents, he had something of a professional income for most of his life; first as a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, between 1658 and 1684, teaching pupils; then as a medical practitioner; later as an administrator. It is doubtful whether he ever made much money from patients, or any at all after the 1680's, but his skill as a doctor brought him reputation and eventually a small addition to his little fortune.

For in 1667 Locke left Oxford to join the household of Anthony Ashley Cooper, then Lord Ashley, and Charles II's Minister for financial and economic affairs. Ashley was to become Lord Chancellor and 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, in the end the leader of the campaign to exclude James II from the throne, and so the founder of the Whig party, if not of party politics altogether. The surgical operation which Locke directed upon his patron first brought him to the notice of the polite, political, and learned worlds. From Shaftesbury's house Locke became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and there he began his career as a philosopher. Locke bought books for Shaftesbury, lent books to him, and borrowed books from him. He educated Shaftesbury's grandchildren. He wrote on Shaftesbury's behalf, even writing for him in the traditional manner of the intellectual linked with the man of great affairs. When Shaftesbury got office, Locke got office too; when Shaftesbury fell, so did Locke. The generous stock of bound 'paper books' which furnished Locke's office as Secretary of the Clergy to Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury for a few months in 1672 and 1673 provided stationery for him for many years after. As we shall see, he used one such volume to list a portion of his library.

Locke served Lord Shaftesbury for sixteen years, from 1667 to 1682. Although he resided very little at Christ Church during this time, he kept his set of rooms there and did not move his Oxford books to London. His library was, therefore, divided and both parts shifted about to some extent. At Oxford he changed his chamber from over against Tom Tower, not yet graced, of course, with Wren's familiar finial, to Canterbury Quadrangle. Shaftesbury moved his London address from the Strand to Aldersgate Street. Locke himself spent three-and-a-half years of this time living and travelling in France, from late in 1675 to early in 1679, carrying some books with him and buying others to send or bring back home. By 1681 he seems to have had more volumes in London than he thought tactful to install in the house of his patron, for in May of that year he recorded in his journal the transport of eight boxes of books from the address of a relative to the address of a friend. Finally, in 1683 and in 1684, he found himself facing in good earnest the difficult problem which sooner or later confronts every serious collector of books, the problem of where the cumbersome, lovable, delicate objects should be kept. For he lost both his residences and had to go into exile.

This was the result of the failure, in 1682, of Shaftesbury's struggle against the Catholic Stuarts; he died a fugitive in Amsterdam a few months later. Feeling himself threatened as 'one who had belonged to Shaftesbury', Locke also finally fled to Holland. He had already moved some of his London books into the house of an old acquaintance in the countryside near Oxford, perhaps the eight wandering boxfuls. Meanwhile, on 21 July 1683, the University in Convocation ordered to take place in the Court of Schools, now the Bodleian Quadrangle, what may be regarded as the last general burning of the books which took place in England. The decree was displayed in the halls and libraries of the colleges, and it anathematized doctrine after doctrine already written into Locke's unpublished *Treatises of Government*. Amongst the authors condemned to the fire were some of those whose books stood on the shelves of Locke's chamber in Christ Church. It seems that he was there himself to watch the acrid smoke drifting up between the spires, tight-lipped as ever and busy disposing of embarrassing possessions. Two months later he was in Rotterdam, and the following year his fears were completely justified. For in his absence he was ejected by royal mandate from his Studentship at Christ Church, and his rooms were broken into. The same good friend and county notable then took into charge the whole of Locke's Oxford possessions; books, bedding, cutlery, and all.

So it came about that between November 1684 and October 1691, this faithful friend in need had care of the major part of Locke's library, all the books from Oxford which Locke had left behind him there, and those of the books from London which he had moved out in the early 1680's. His name was James Tyrrell, son and heir of Sir Timothy Tyrrell, of Oakley near Brill in Buckinghamshire and of Shotover Hill, overlooking Oxford. The presence of these books belonging to Locke at the seat of the Tyrrells at Oakley during these years is one of the facts which made it possible to show that *Two Treatises of Government* was not written to rationalize the Glorious Whig Revolution of 1688, but was composed before 1683, when Locke lost access to his working volumes.¹ Even the remnant of his London library was beyond his reach during his stay in Holland, because it was apparently left in store with a Mrs. Rabsby Smithsby, who was Locke's landlady in the city after Shaftesbury's death, with some parcels of it perhaps in the houses of his other friends. Except for a few indispensable volumes, John Locke the expatriate was a man without his library.

In 1684, the final year of the reign of Charles II, he was fifty-two and the author of nothing of any importance. Though he still had his patrimony, and the annuity which Shaftesbury had sold him at an advantageous rate as a reward for services rendered, he found himself

¹ See Laslett, *Two Treatises of Government*, Cambridge, 1960, 2nd edition 1967; not all the facts given here about Locke's books and their whereabouts were available for that work.

living in a foreign country without chance of employment and with an uncertain future. This foreign country, however, was the United Provinces, then perhaps the most important book centre in Europe, where works on all subjects in all languages could be bought at open-market prices. Locke set about acquiring all that he could afford. His purchases during these years were, however, additions to the collection he had left behind in England, although he did occasionally buy a second copy of something he already owned. Here is one of the facts which make it clear that Locke never expected his exile to be permanent, and there is no sign in his correspondence that he ever thought of having his library taken abroad.

Locke's acquaintance with European men of letters had begun in France in the 1670's, and in Holland it grew wider and wider, and with it his holdings of continental books. Meanwhile the long months when there was little else for him to do saw the *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, the *Letters on Toleration* and the *Thoughts concerning Education* at last take shape on paper. Something in the foreign atmosphere seemed to bring to fruition works which otherwise might never have been published at all, and it is noteworthy that this bookish writer only set himself seriously to write when his own books were far away. This must also be remembered when we look upon them as his working tools, though it must be remembered too that in his later years in Holland he had friends to lend him titles he had not bought, and that in the end he found himself in an English household in Rotterdam where there was growing up a larger library than he ever was to assemble for himself.¹

But some of Locke's other interests and occupations were interrupted or even brought to an end during this period. He seems to have decided that he would never be a natural philosopher; the chemical experiments, begun in his friend Robert Boyle's laboratory in High Street, Oxford, in the 1650's, and later continued both in London and Salisbury with a Whig physician-chemist, David Thomas, were never resumed. He ceased to practice medicine for money. The intense interest in colonial affairs which he had shared with Shaftesbury as a colonial administrator had to find a new outlet, most conspicuously in his buying travel books about the geography, natural and human, of distant, recently discovered parts of the world.

Such subjects were Locke's first interest as a reader throughout his life. And, despite the abatement in his activities as a physician and scientist, Locke's purchases of books on medicine, chemistry, and the other sciences showed no marked decline during this period. He

¹ From early in 1687 to early in 1689 Locke lived in the household of Benjamin Furley, an English Quaker settled in Rotterdam who left some 1,400 books (titles) when he died, see *Williamson Furleyana, sine Catalogo Librorum B. Furley, Rotterdam, 1714*. The overlap with Locke's final

probably spent more of his income on books while in Holland than he had ever done before, notwithstanding the loss of his power to earn. Even after his happy return in February 1689 in the very ship which brought the Princess Mary back to England to take up her crown, he kept open his account with Abraham Wetstein, bookseller, of Rotterdam. He landed from the good ship *Isabella* on 12 February 1689, complete with 'a little casque with an iron furnace in it' (the chemist in him was not yet entirely dead) and sixteen boxes, thirteen of them packed with books.

But he had nowhere to live, nowhere to set up his library. His position and his only available home at Christ Church were not given back to him, and he had to lodge in London, his asthmatic lungs irritated by the smoke of that already grimy city. Still he found himself much better off, almost at once, better off financially. In May 1689 he was made a Commissioner for Appeals at £200 a year and, in May 1696, a member of the newly established Council for Trade and Plantations at £1,000 a year. These offices required extensive and tedious correspondence, but not a lot in the way of actual work on the premises. Only for this last, prosperous period of Locke's life do we have anything like full information about his library. This was, in fact, the only time in which all his books, or very nearly all, were gathered in one place.

His own works were then in print, though only one, the *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, was openly acknowledged to have been written by him. This pre-occupation with anonymity, this inability to be open with the world, his friends or even himself about what he had written and why he had written it, is a trait of Locke's which will concern us again. Whatever his attitude to them, printings and reprintings of his own works helped to swell his library, together with copies of the numerous tracts written to criticize and defend them. His literary reputation was so great that many books were presented to him and he could afford to add to them on a really affluent scale. The last dozen years were indeed spent among his books, and then and only then was John Locke a world-famous figure in his life-time. The titles entered in his catalogue between 1692 and 1704 illustrate him thus, and not simply as a modest Oxford don, or as the medical adviser to the great, or as a respected intellectual amongst other intellectuals taking refuge in the Low Countries.

More important to his library than his relative prosperity was the acquisition of a settled site to shelve and to display it. At long last, towards the end of 1690, after twenty-five eventful years, he was offered a permanent address in a household which he would never wish to change. Early in 1691 he went to live in the manor house of the little settlement called Oates, or Ottes, within the parish of High Laver, near Harlow and Bishop's Stortford, in the county of Essex, twenty miles from London but deeply buried in the countryside. Since Ottes must

library is interesting, and it seems that the drafts of the books which he brought out so soon afterwards were influenced by what he could read in Furley's house—except, of course, the draft on government.

be counted as the original seat of Locke's library we must learn a little about the household there as it was in the 1690's and the 1700's.¹

Sir Francis Masham, Member of Parliament for Essex, was master of the house, and its mistress was Dame Damaris Masham, his second wife. Her father had been the famous scholar Ralph Cudworth, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and, brought up within the circle of theologians and philosophers now called the Cambridge Platonists, she herself became a theologian, the friend and correspondent of the intellectuals of her day. We do not know how she came to marry this hard-headed but somewhat uninteresting Essex gentleman, bringing her widowed mother with her when she came to Otes, rather than the comfortable dowry that the family of Masham stood in need of. Damaris Masham was certainly personable but she was excessively short-sighted, nervous, and excitable—perhaps the first bluestocking of them all.

Leibniz was one of her correspondents and for nearly ten years before 1690 she had been writing to John Locke, though this was probably not the name which he signed to the many letters he wrote to her. Her replies were signed, 'Philoclea', and they were, some of them, quite evidently replies to an affectionate correspondent. Indeed not only letters but poetry, academic and theological but nevertheless uncommonly like love poetry, had been exchanged between them.

John Locke lived at Otes as a paying guest at £1 a week for himself and his manservant and 15. a week for his horse. For this he was given two of the best rooms in the little red-brick manor house, illustrated opposite, Tudor in appearance but medieval in its architectural origin. For, like many of the ancient seats in the flat Essex countryside, it was surrounded with a moat. We know that this was still a striking feature of the house because Locke was once referred to in a letter as 'the gentleman now within the moated castle'. We know, too, that Locke's presence caused some inconvenience, since it left so little room for other guests. The paraphernalia which attached itself to a seventeenth-century philosopher, scientist, doctor, economist, political theorist, theologian, and adviser of government was indeed formidable.

There were Locke's barometer, telescope, and other instruments, together with a great porous stone through which all the water he drank had to be carefully filtered. Then there were his specially constructed chair and his desk, which was also his filing cabinet, every pigeon-hole neatly filled with its proper papers, folded tight and duly endorsed. One

¹ On Locke at Otes, see A. C. Fraser, *Locke*, Edinburgh, 1890, and Laslett, *Masham of Otes*, published in *History Today*, 8 August 1953, and reprinted in *Diversions of History*, introduced by Peter Quennell, 1954. Fraser had access to material once at Otes which has now disappeared, see below, page 60.

of the compartments was obviously ticketed *Libri* and contained his lists, his receipts, and his library papers. Above all there were the books themselves, a good roomful to begin with and growing in number all the time. Big books many of them were, great sets of

THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

No. 357.] AUGUST 1, 1821. [1 of Vol. 52.



The Manor House at Otes late in the Eighteenth Century, probably from a contemporary print. The house Locke knew was the gabled left hand side only. The square Georgian addition was probably made in the 1770's.

leather and vellum folios, weighing a stone or more a set. Sir Francis Masham's ten servants must have been kept hard at it.

On 26 June 1692 Locke presented Damaris Masham with 'A parasol, a split bongrace [a shade worn in front of a woman's bonnet to protect her complexion] and six pairs of gloves'. Two months later he bought patches for her face and a 'cornet', another fashionable millinery accessory. Entries for such items and others more serious and valuable appear as 'Delivered to my Lady Masham' in Locke's meticulous accounts until his death; the last entry he made, probably the last words he ever wrote, recorded a payment of £4 to the lady

in London who did the actual buying of these things. Although, when Locke moved to Otes, he was rising sixty and Dame Damaris was thirty-eight, it seems that the time for gallantry was not yet over.

Too much must not be made, however, of the exchange of gifts, which was the courteous form of the age, and some of the things Locke bought may have been as her personal agent. What was the exact relationship between the three important members of the household during these years we cannot now quite tell, though the Reverend John Edwards, Locke's outspoken critic, had no hesitations. "The seraglio at Otes" was the phrase he used,¹ and he knew the gossip of the Essex countryside quite well. No reply was ever made to this scurrility, but when he died Locke showed his gratitude to Damaris Masham and the Masham family by making her son, Francis Cudworth, the heir to £3,000, which was a good part of his whole estate, and to half of his books.

This last incident in the story of what happened to John Locke in the manor house at Otes is obviously of the first importance to our subject, and we must quote the exact words of the document, signed in the house on 4 April 1704. The numbers in brackets are those given to books concerned in the catalogue which follows:

Item, [the will went in the conventional way] I give to Dame Damaris Masham my ruby ring and my diamond ring with one stone, and any four folios, eight quartos and twenty books of less volume, which she shall choose out of the books in my Library. . . . *Item*, I give to my good friend Mr. Anthony Collins of the Middle Temple [this was the famous free-thinker, then a very young, very dear but very recent acquaintance] my *Plautus* in folio of Lambin's edition [2338]—*Gesneri Bibliotheca aucta per Simlerum* [1246]—*Kerckringii Spicilegium anatomicum* [1628]—*Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Raphaelis Trichetti du Fresne* [1188]—*Bibliotheca Thiana* [2893]—and *Bibliotheca Heinsiana* [1410]—and *Wissen's Map of Tartary* that hangs up in my Study. *Item*, I give to my cousin Peter King of the Inner Temple, my *Harmonia Evangeliorum Toinardi* [2934]—*Poli's Synopsis Criticorum* [2369]—*Les memoires de Monsieur Deagant* [929]—*Marci Antonii de Dominis Epistola de pace Religionis ad Josephum Hallum* [988], all my Manuscripts, and all my books that are interleaved, and the one moiety of all the rest of my books, not herein otherwise disposed of, together with the boxes they stand in; the other moiety of my said books, together with the boxes they stand in, I give to Francis Cudworth Masham aforesaid, when he shall attain to the age of one and twenty years.

Except then for some few volumes to Dame Damaris and Mr. Anthony Collins, the books at Otes were distributed between Peter King and Francis Cudworth Masham. Some of the other things left to Damaris Masham's only child add a little glitter to the picture.

Item [the will continues] I give to the said Francis Cudworth Masham, when he shall attain to the age of one and twenty years, my silver snuffers, snuff-dish and candlestick, which were a legacy given me by

¹ In an anonymous letter to the bookseller John Churchill, see Bodleian Library MS. Locke c. 23, f. 200. (After this all references to the Lovelace Manuscripts in the

his grandmother Cudworth; my silver screen to preserve the eyes in reading by Candlelight, my clock, and Mr. Molineux's picture which hangs up in the parlour at Otes. . . .

Thus it was that the little boy who had been four years old when Locke came to live with his father and mother, Totty was his nickname then, came to be the destined possessor of so much which had belonged to the philosopher. The final and disastrous outcome will be recounted in its proper place.

All that remains of Otes today is a hummocky field beyond a miry Essex farmyard. It was the ageing Locke who sunned himself in that vanished garden sloping down to what is now a dismal marsh. It was he who watched the two magnificent lime trees which stand there still, watched them burgeoning in their youth, perhaps he who planted them, since he sent lime seeds in 1685 from Holland to his friend Edward Clarke, of Chipley Park, near Wellington in Somerset, and M.P. for the borough of Taunton. The lime, we must remember was as Whig a tree as the oak was Tory, as Whig as Locke and Clarke and Sir Francis Masham themselves, and the great avenue which stands to this day before the site of Clarke's mansion house is the finest natural monument to the Whigs in the whole of England.

Beneath the slowly growing shade of the limes at Otes, Locke played with Totty and the other Masham children and their friends. He walked here with his own visitors also. Most often in his company was his second cousin, Peter King, who became chief beneficiary in his will. King was then a lawyer rising under his distinguished kinsman's patronage, and his last visit to Essex was in celebration of his marriage. From the young couple who feasted with Locke at Otes in the summer of 1704 sprang the noble line of King, the barony being conferred by George I on Peter King when he became Lord Chancellor, a barony which in 1838 was elevated into the Earldom of Lovelace. Hence the title of the collection of Locke's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and hence the destination of the King moiety of Locke's books. What now survives of it was found in 1951 at Ben Damp Forest House, Wester Ross, the shooting lodge built for his family by the 1st Earl of Lovelace.

But friends as well as relatives came to see him. Some, like Edward Clarke, were parliamentary figures, in the Lords as well as in the Commons; one was Lord Peterborough, Marlborough's general in Spain. Most of them were literary and intellectual in taste and in accomplishment; there was Anthony Collins and the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, the 1st Earl's grandson and the earliest object of Locke's theories of education: his sharpest critic too. There was Sir Godfrey Kneller, who came down to paint him and to paint Lady Masham at Locke's expense; the sketch he made at Otes for a portrait of Locke is the frontispiece to the present book. The most famous intellectual of his age, the greatest Englishman of his generation, came to visit old Mr. Locke amongst the others, Mr. Isaac Newton himself.

Bodleian will be made simply by letter and number after MS. Locke.)

They worked together in the library on the interpretation of the scripture, probably in 1702.

Locke's copy of William Bentley's *Holy Bible*, London, 1648, [300] contains on its inter-leaves notes in its owner's hand, some initialed JL for himself, and IN for Isaac Newton. A photograph of one of these pages is to be found in Plate 2.

'Ex dono Acutissimi Authoris, qui errores propria manu correxit.' These are the words which appear in Locke's writing inside the front cover of Newton's *Principia*, first edition, 1687 [2083]. The inscription to be seen in the corresponding place in the copy of Newton's *Opticks*, 1704 [2082], is even more interesting and revealing.

'Ex dono Authoris, Viri Doctissimi, Integerrimi, Amicissimi.' The most learned, upright and friendly of men.¹ From this we learn that when Locke died a few weeks after writing this phrase he was completely confident of Newton's friendship. It had not always been so.

The Frenchman Pierre Coste who came to Otes to be tutor to Francis Masham and literary assistant to Locke, wrote this of his stay at the house: 'I cannot but take pleasure in imagining to myself that this place, so well known to so many persons of merit, whom I have seen come thither from so many parts of England to visit Mr. Locke, will be famous to posterity, for the long abode that great man made here.' Many of these persons of merit must have leafed through the volumes listed in this catalogue, though we shall see that none of them learnt anything from doing so, not anything that the pernickery owner would have preferred them not to know. There is a story that, under these conditions of domestic ease and social consequence, John Locke talked too much for Isaac Newton's liking.

One-quarter of the books which were ranged about them as the conversation flowed on, that remaining part of the King moiety which was found at Ben Damph Forest, still survives as one collection. It stands now, in 1964, in another private house, in a room still furnished with Kneller's splendid sketch, but situate in Virginia, 3,000 miles away from Otes. One day this remnant of his library will return from Mr. Paul Mellon's house at Oak Spring to England and to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. But Locke's posterity, whatever his secretary may have expected, have only the two great limes, solitary and desolate in an untidy landscape, to mark the spot where first they stood together. The trees are nevertheless an apter memorial than the inconspicuous tomb in the gloomy church of High Laver whither they took him to be buried on 31 October 1704.

¹ Locke mis-wrote 'integerrimi' in the book. Both these items are now very appropriately in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge—see below, page 60. The corrections in Locke's *Principia* are not, in actual fact, in Newton's

own hand-writing; see J. L. Axtell, 'Locke's Review of the *Principia*', *Notes & Records of the Royal Society of London*, xx, 1965.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBRARY

The whole library of John Locke the philosopher, therefore, only existed as a complete collection fully available to its owner during the last phase of his life. That is the reason why the books listed here cannot be looked upon as all at his disposal when he thought his thoughts and composed his works, though the fact that he went to the length of acquiring a particular title at some point in his career must mean that it had some significance for him. Furthermore, a half of his books only came to him during the final years of fame. The concept of a working library built up for his own use by one of the most accomplished of English scholars and thinkers has, therefore, to be modified a little.

It must never be too easily assumed, moreover, that because a man owned a book at some time in his life he therefore read it, nor that he was ignorant of a particular publication because he never went to the trouble of getting a copy or ever even mentioned it. There is in Locke's methodical case a great body of evidence available about books, notes in his diaries, entries in his series of elaborately indexed *Lemmata* and *Adversaria* and other manuscript volumes, references in his correspondence. The bare list of titles published here could be supplemented with much further information about purchases, about what he read, how much he read of any work, how much he copied out, where he disagreed. Only a small amount of work of this sort has been undertaken for the present volume. It cannot be used as a guide to his sources in any but the most elementary way.

It was not Locke's custom to dispose of the relevant books when he had written on a subject as some writers do. It appears from his diary that there were titles which he lost, exchanged, perhaps even destroyed or sold. He left records of gifts in his later years, not many as will be seen, but he may have been more generous earlier on. He certainly appears to have left sixty-eight titles behind him in Holland in 1689, perhaps as a present to his host in Rotterdam, perhaps in the hands of the booksellers.¹ He was always very willing to lend from his library, for short or long periods, keeping careful record of the loan. It is, nevertheless, the case that of the 3,641 titles of books which he has been found to have owned at some time between the late 1670's and the early 1700's, only 685 fail to appear in his final catalogue and several hundred of these were in his ownership, though not officially registered.

A library of 3,500 volumes was large for late seventeenth-century England, though not to be compared with those of the great noble collectors or even with those men of Locke's resources who lived more settled lives and had the collector's passion to a more marked

¹ For his later gifts see below, page 44. As an example of titles he seems to have lost sight of, we may take *Plato Redivivus*, lent to Tyrrell in 1681 but never mentioned thereafter.

degree than he did. Samuel Pepys had about as many titles as Locke, but much grander titles they were, and John Evelyn had 5,000. Furly, a mere merchant in exile, surpassed Locke, as has been mentioned, and an ordinary clergyman, substantially benefited it is true, but never a bishop, was amassing a library nearly twice the size of Locke's during the very years of his residence at Ottes, and he left it endowed for public use in a building twenty miles away. None of these men stands quite on Locke's level as a thinker and a writer, however, and we could only see his library in accurate proportion, both as to size and subject-matter, if we could contrast it point by point with those of truly comparable contemporaries.

It is in the nature of things that this should not be possible, but we do have one very important collection for comparison. This is the library of Isaac Newton, a man who was ten years younger than Locke (he was born in 1642) and who died twenty-three years later, in 1727. Newton was not, then, an exact contemporary by any means, but the two were friends at an important period in both their lives, and they had enough in common intellectually to raise the hope that their holdings of books might show fascinating similarities and contrasts.

Locke's library was considerably larger than Newton's, wider in range, more scholarly in the sense that he obviously tried to make it an efficient and a powerful instrument of reference. But we must be careful not to exaggerate its superiority because it was so much better catalogued (indeed Newton's was never catalogued at all by its owner) and because we know so much more about it.² All we know of Newton's books comes from posthumous listings, a crude comparison of these with the listings of Locke's library at the time of his death in 1704 implies a difference in size of about 200 volumes. Although he died a younger man, Locke had a library a third or more larger than Newton's. Locke left 2,257 volumes (2,257 titles) and Newton 1,502 (1,722 titles). The two men held 338 titles

² This was Dr. Thomas Plume, *Warden of Westminster and Archdeacon of Rochester*, an exact contemporary (1650-1724), and his library is still to be seen at Welbeck, Leicestershire, under all the general characteristics which give Locke's books their interest. Plume may well have been a much better man, however, for he endowed the Plumeian chair at Cambridge, and comparison of his list are more difficult than might appear. *Newton* was certainly the wealthier than Locke. For the Plume library see the catalogue published in 1828 by S. A. Duff and J. Francis at Welbeck, see the *Plume* catalogue.

³ For and away the most important consideration of Newton's library, though made only for one particular purpose, is contained in the very interesting book *Isaac Newton, Historian* by Frank Mann, Harvard University Press, 1929. We must agree with Professor Mann that the only catalogue in print that included in Newton's list, by R. de Villiers, no date, but published in 1895, is extremely inaccurate and that the 438 books from Newton's library presented to the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, by the Plume Trust deserve and need the fullest scholarly examination. We have not been able to undertake this for the present volume. De Villiers in de Villiers' catalogue lists the 438 books from 1642-1727, and obviously understandably we have been obliged to set them for the present purpose, which is an overall comparison with Locke's books. It is a sad fact that the survival from both libraries is about the same in size, though, of course, the Locke library at Oak Spring is proportionately smaller.

in common, though most of these were in different editions. There are only 141 exact duplicates. These figures are only approximate; yet they indicate that roughly 15 per cent of Locke's titles were the same as Newton's and roughly 20 per cent of Newton's titles were the same as Locke's.

A comparison of the intellectual areas covered by the two collections indicates some overlap in books on Socinian theology, on chronology, on economics, and on philosophy. The two men also held some of the same reference books. But the most generous view of the resemblance does not permit us to suppose that they shared the same intellectual universe to the extent of desiring to acquire the same works of their predecessors and mentors, except in one area only. Though the largest single list of titles in common is that for the works of Robert Boyle, followed by Locke's own publications, the really remarkable resemblance, or, in this case, near identity, is travel literature. Preliminary work on the two collections suggests that nearly every book in that category which was in print in Locke's life-time and which Newton held was also owned by Locke. Locke had far more of such books than Newton did.

It seems evident that these two polymaths had very different attitudes toward their books. This is demonstrated by Newton's apparent unwillingness to catalogue his own library; no sharper contrast with Locke could be imagined. Newton also appears to have been little concerned about the disposal of his books after death. He failed to execute a will, which made it possible for a rather unsavoury neighbour, John Huggins, Warden of the Fleet Prison, to buy up his books immediately after his death and send them into the country to help make a gentleman-parson out of his son. As we have seen, Locke's will was most specific about the disposal of his library. It is perhaps surprising that he chose to divide his collection, but quite in character that the future of those possessions which he had spent so much money and energy in acquiring should have concerned him greatly during his last months.

Because he was so painstaking and meticulous with his precious books it is possible to watch his library developing from its beginnings in the handful of volumes he took with him from Westminster School to Christ Church in 1652 to the full collection of the year 1704. Naturally the record is much more complete for the last phase of his life, and the first actual lists of his holdings date from the time of his visit to France in the 1690's. But there is an earlier indication of the methodical attitude in a notebook of the year 1687, where he copied out a series of titles from a manuscript source intended by its author as a guide 'for the furnishing of your library (for younger scholars)'. The writer was Thomas Barlow, formerly Bodley's librarian, and the booklist in question a much-used source for the scholars of

Locke's generation setting out to equip themselves with books.¹ Locke went on to acquire many of the titles marked 'Barlo' in his notes and to add to them the collection already being divided between his chamber at Christ Church and his room in Shaftesbury's house in London.

The French booklists of a decade later, between 1677 and 1679, tell us a great deal about the literary relations between England and France, and something both of Locke's development as a member of the intellectual society of the Continent—as yet he was only a very minor member—and of the French element in his library policy. It is not possible, nevertheless, to make up a systematic catalogue from these documents,² and there is no detailed evidence of how his purchases were divided between Oxford and London on his return. In July 1681, however, at the height of the Popish Plot, Locke retired from London to Oxford and soothed himself, as we all do, by going over those possessions he most valued. He went round his chamber at Christ Church on or about the 14th of that month and wrote out in his journal under the date 'A catalogue of my books at Oxford'.

This is the first formal catalogue of any part of Locke's library, and we have reproduced it as Appendix I to this book. It is interesting not only because it comes first in time and because of the intellectual interests which it reveals, but also because of its arrangement. There are 288 titles and 305 volumes in the list, and although the works are usually denoted by a single word entry, mostly of the author's name, it has been possible to identify with near certainty all but 14 of the items, and 4 of them appear to be manuscripts. Close knowledge of the final collection and its documents has made this possible, but it could not have been done unless Locke had adhered so carefully to a plan of arrangement which we now know was the germ of the arrangement which came to maturity at Otes in the 1690's. They are entered by size, starting with his 36 folio volumes and then descending to his 75 quartos, 122 octavos, and 72 duodecimos, all except the folios being in a rough alphabetical order. Starting with the quartos, Locke gives the height of each batch of books—they must in fact have been shelf-loads—in inches, from 11 in. down to 8 in.; the octavos go from 8 in. to 7 in., and the duodecimos from 6 in. to 5 in. Except for the alphabetical tendency which,

¹ MS. Locke c. 17. The source has been published from a copy in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, by A. De Jorly and H. F. Plessner, *University of Illinois Press*, 1964. See *Bodleian Library Record*, vii, 19, 1964.

² They are in MS. Locke b. 2, a volume containing most of the papers which must once have been in the pigeonhole labelled *Libri in Locke's desk*, including the Dutch listings, see below, page 15, and for these documents generally as sources of titles which belonged to Locke, see

Appendix III. Gabriel Bonino published the French evidence of this sort, including some from the diaries, in *Les Relations intellectuelles de Locke avec la France*, University of California Press, 1953, and we have found this work of assistance in identifying Locke's French books, though we differ from Professor Bonino on some points of detail. Professor John Lough has published an interesting study of 'Locke's Reading during his stay in France' in *The Library*, ser. 5, vol. viii, 1953.

no doubt, was impossible to preserve as numbers multiplied, this arrangement and shelf-marking was retained and developed in his later years.

Analysis of the content of Locke's Oxford library has to be undertaken with the knowledge that only a part, and probably less than half of his books, is at issue. Since we have no knowledge of any principle on which he should have divided subjects between London and Oxford, there is no way of telling whether the balance in this collection would be the same in the whole, should we ever recover a full listing. With that warning, it can be said that the results of a comparison with the final library of the 1690's are briefly as follows. The early collection at Oxford was predominantly medical and scientific, 38.8 per cent as compared with 11.1 per cent in the final library was medical (see Table 1 on page 18), and 17.4 per cent scientific as compared with 6.6 per cent. Theology was 6.6 per cent of the titles as against 23.8 per cent later, and other categories were smaller in proportion: politics and law 2.4 per cent compared with 10.7 per cent—this figure must, it seems, be influenced by the greater appropriateness of keeping political books in London—classics 6.9 per cent and 10.1 per cent, travel 4.2 per cent and 7.6 per cent. Robert Boyle with 8 works already headed the list of authors represented. Latin predominated in the Oxford library of the 1680's rather than English (Latin 61 per cent as against 36.5 per cent later) and French was a much less common language (7 per cent as against 18.3 per cent). About 38 of these Oxford titles failed to find a place in Locke's final catalogue, but 84 are still to be seen amongst that part of his library which stands together as a collection.

No other listings have been found for the period up to 1683 when Locke went to Holland without either part of his library. There he obviously determined to keep, and preserve, exact registers of his book purchases and of his growing collection. It is not quite clear whether he had in his possession the titles of the books he had left in England, but in October 1686 he made a complete catalogue of his new Dutch library. He did this again in 1688 and again, twice, the second time in a fairly definitive fashion probably the year after. But, meanwhile, he had already begun the elaborate document which is the basis of our own catalogue—the exhaustive listing of what became his final library, carried out in an interleaved copy of the printed catalogue of the Bodleian.

Though his return to England in 1689 begins the period of full, almost too full, information, it is not quite clear what happened first of all to the contents of the boxes which contained his harvest from the Dutch book market. Some time between then and his settlement at Otes early in 1691 he began a catalogue which he kept up to date with purchases made until the later date, a list containing some 300 titles only. Some of them had been in his possession for twenty years and more, since they appear in the French documents; presumably they had been in

store in London. Others had been bought in Holland, but they represented only a small part of his acquisitions from that source. It looks as if Locke had opened the box containing the most obviously useful Dutch titles, set the books up in his lodging in Mrs. Smithsby's house and foraged for a suitable place in which to make a record of them and of those which he had found awaiting him there. The document he hit upon was one of the paper-books supplied to his office when he had been Secretary of the Clergy to Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury in 1672.¹ On one of the hundreds of still-vacant pages of this book he recorded his possession of a work called 'The sovereign right and power of the people over tyrants clearly stated', 1689 [1994*]. This unremarkable, anonymous tract is rather Lockean in sentiment, but the author, according to Locke, was none other than John Milton. He may have known more than posterity has guessed, but it seems more likely that he took the authorship from the *Term Catalogues* for Easter 1691 where this work appears as by Milton, and where the phrase *Pro populo adversus tyrannos* which forms the first part of the title on the tract itself is omitted, as it is in Locke's own catalogue.

This is all which has become known of the London portion of Locke's library as it existed during his years with Shaftesbury, and as it was added to in the months after he returned from exile and before he got to Otes. There is nothing to show what titles were in Locke's room in Exeter House in the summer of 1671, when he made the very first sketches for his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*. It is impossible to say what others had been added to them when he sat in his allotted lodgings in Thanet House in the summer of 1679, and made up his mind what to think of Royalist, patriarchal politics, whilst downstairs the hysterical, fraudulent Popish Plot was being directed by the Earl of Shaftesbury and his more active political staff. It seems reasonable to suppose, as we have done, that most of the books had gone to Tyrrell's by the time Locke left for Holland, and that only a remnant was left with Mrs. Smithsby to be catalogued in the way which has just been described. Even after he finally left his London lodgings for Otes, no doubt with all his plans for his library already decided upon, the independent London collection did not come to an end, for he retained his lodgings for visits to the Capital, and during the hundred warmest days of every year he actually resided there. Mrs. Smithsby gave way to Mr. Pawling as his landlord, and Mr. Pawling moved his house from Dorset Court in Channel Row, to Little Lincoln's Inn Fields. Locke's London possessions went with the establishment and amongst them were always a hundred books and more: when he died there were 148 there, not entered in his master catalogue.

¹ See above. The volume was found at Ben Damp Forest, and presented along with the other manuscripts discovered there, by Mr. Mellon to the Bodleian Library, where it now forms part of the Lovelace collection (MS. Locke c. 44). It was begun in Chancery as a register of petitions, and after Locke had ceased to keep a book catalogue in it, he converted it into a medical notebook (*Adversaria physica* 93 [24]).

These, for the most part, seem to have been just what might be expected, unbound volumes, medical-technical volumes, books which their owner cared least about and which might have looked badly on his shelves. By the springtime of 1692 it can be supposed that all the London volumes which he wanted to have by him had reached his chosen home and all the Dutch books too. He had to wait for several months before the rest of what he owned could reach him there. Until late in that first year of his residence at Otes they were still at Oakley in Buckinghamshire, still under the easy-going care of his voluble, scatter-brained friend and correspondent, James Tyrrell. When at last Tyrrell got them all into cases and the long, slow move began, he wrote to his eminent and exacting friend in such detail that we can follow their progress very closely.

They were first carted from Oakley to Oxford, along with the quilts which had been on Locke's beds in his college rooms, his cane chair, his velvet cap, and other effects. This cost 10s. 10d. The next stage of the journey, by barge down the Thames to London, was delayed by the locks on the river getting out of order. Forgetful as ever, indeed his knockabout methods were a great trial to the meticulous Locke, Tyrrell had to send a second consignment a few weeks later. Even then there was not room inside the package for what might be thought to be the most valuable and interesting object of all, a manuscript draft of the *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*. This, said he, 'being too big to go into it, I have tied it on the top, yet so sealed that nobody can look into it.'¹ Nevertheless, Tyrrell did take care to list the titles before he sent off the boxes, and to include the late-comers in his letters and their postscripts. And it can be imagined that the perruquero owner checked his listings carefully, and made one of his own.

From these documents and from other listings which have been mentioned, together with the various hints and references scattered throughout Locke's journals, notebooks, and letters, we can roughly estimate the size of his library at various dates up to the beginning of his final prosperous years, and so its rate of growth. When he returned from France in 1679, he appears to have had some 500 titles, perhaps as many as 600, divided between London and Oxford. In 1681, as has been seen, his Oxford library numbered 288 titles, and three years later, when he went off to Amsterdam, the whole of his collection had grown to something like 1,000. All but 300 of these were at Oakley from 1684 to 1691, since Tyrrell returned about 700 in the later year, and when Locke got back to England in 1689 his total holdings

¹ Tyrrell to Locke, 13 February 1691/2. Tyrrell's list of October 1691 is in MS. Locke f. 17, folios 1-49, and Locke's check lists in MS. Locke b. 2, folios 123, 124. Tyrrell's letters are full of omissions explained, complicating circumstances described, little liberties taken with Locke's possessions apologized for. Perhaps the earliest damage to the library took place to these books whilst they were with Tyrrell, but he took such trouble on behalf of his formidable friend that posterity finds it easier to forgive him than Locke did.

had been enlarged by his Dutch purchases to about 1,700. By the time he moved to Otes he had acquired perhaps some 200 more, and so possessed something like a half of the works listed in this catalogue. Now at last there came an end to books being in store, or in the hands of friends. He could begin to look on his literary possessions as properly his own.

Accordingly he set about the most pleasurable of all the collector's tasks, arranging, marking, cataloguing with extraordinary care and complication. His remarkable habits as a librarian form perhaps the most interesting part of the study of his books, and he is one of the earliest collectors whose practices we can follow in detail. To appreciate his methods we must have some idea of the contents of the whole collection as he left it in 1704. This will help us to imagine what Locke had in mind when he thought of his collection and decided which purchases to make. For, in his last dozen years, as has been seen, Locke doubled the size of his library.

III. COMPOSITION OF LOCKE'S FINAL LIBRARY

John Locke is famous first and foremost as a philosopher, and his generation, his own writings, are often taken to mark the rise of the English language to be a literary and learned one. It may come as a surprise, then, to find that philosophy by no means predominated in his library, and that not much more than a third of the books he owned were in his native tongue. In the following table his holdings are analysed by subject.

TABLE 1
Locke's Library, Subject Analysis¹

	Titles	Proportion
1. Theology (including Bibles, 31; Testaments, 24; Concordances, 12; Prayer Books, &c., 5)	870	23.8%
2. Medicine (including Pharmacy, 25)	402	11.1%
3. Politics and Law (of which Legal Books, 59)	390	10.7%
4. Classical Literature, Greek and Latin	366	10.1%
5. Geography and Exploration (including Voyages and Travels, 195; Geography, 80)	275	7.6%
6. Philosophy	269	7.4%
7. Natural Science (including Physics, 69; Natural History, 61; Chemistry, 48; Zoology, 29; Botany, 13; Astronomy, 9; Mineralogy, 13)	242	6.6%
8. Modern Literature (including French Literature, 96; English, 73; Italian, 28; Spanish, 10; Dutch, 4)	211	5.8%
9. History and Biography	187	5.1%
10. Economics (including Agriculture, 4)	127	3.5%
11. Reference and Bibliography (including Dictionaries, 65)	101	2.7%
All other Subjects	201	5.6%
Total	3,641	100%

¹ See Appendix V for a detailed Subject Index.

None of these subject headings can be very satisfactory, because classification of knowledge in Locke's generation was so different from our own. Where, for example, it is now assumed that a book on the animal and vegetable life of a region belongs to natural history, and to natural science, Locke might well have classed it as medical, along with works on chemistry and even astronomy or mineralogy. Where Locke, on the other hand, collected and even compiled works on exploration and travel, where he assembled fact after fact from them on the lives and customs of the peoples of the world in notebooks entitled *Ethica*, ethics,¹ we ought perhaps to classify them under a heading not invented in his time, Social (or Comparative) Anthropology. It must be remembered also that many of these titles were on slim pamphlets, rather than on solid volumes. The heading Politics and Law represents a collection of political ephemera, rather than shelf upon shelf of lengthy treatises such as he possessed for Theology, and would be lower in the list if it were not for the numbers of tracts he collected at the time of the Exclusion Controversy and in the revolutionary years 1688 and 1689. Still this analysis is an anatomy of Locke's intellectual interests and attitudes, as well as of his policy in assembling a library.

The analysis of his books by language is a much more straightforward matter, and the headings in the Table which follows are, of course, quite clearly distinct.

TABLE 2

Locke's Library, Language Analysis

	Titles	Proportion
1. English	1,426	39.2%
2. Latin	1,326	36.5%
3. French (including French-Latin, 4)	669	18.3%
4. Italian (including Italian-French, 1)	95	2.6%
5. Greek (including Greek-Latin, 49)	84	2.3%
6. Dutch (including Dutch-English, Dutch-French, Dutch-Latin, 1 each)	18	1.1%
7. Others: Polyglot, 7; Spanish, 6; Hebrew and Hebrew-Latin, 5; Persian-Latin, 3; Arabic-Latin, 1; Syriac 1	23	
Total	3,641	100%

¹ It seems very probable that Locke advised the Churchills in the production of the huge collection which they published on *Voyages and Travels* in four volumes in 1704 [1718], even if he did not actually edit it. He certainly seems to have lent them relevant texts for the purpose—see

MS. Locke b. 2, folio 174. For an example of his entering anthropological evidence under ethics, see 1712, *Lexicon Ethica*, found at Ben Damp Forest and now in the Bodleian (MS. Locke d. 10).

The predominance of French over all contemporary continental languages is obvious from this Table. The fact that this Englishman owned nearly half as many books in French as he did in English is almost as striking as the fact that the hold of Latin was still so strong on the works of learning. Locke's travels in France and his personal interests may be special reasons for the large number of French books though his prolonged exile in Holland seems not to have attracted him to works in Dutch. He was never in Italy or in Spain, but he was taught Hebrew at Westminster School by the redoubtable Dr. Busby, to get him a scholarship to Oxford. Neither Hebrew nor even Greek seem to have stayed with him as languages to read at leisure. Germany, northern, central, and eastern Europe were outside Locke's horizon, as a traveller if not as a reader, and he possessed no single work in any of the languages of these areas.

Proceeding from the language used to the places where his books were published, a rather greater variety makes itself apparent, even though the use of Latin persisted among the Europeans, especially Europeans east and north of the Rhine.

TABLE 3

Locke's Library, Analysis by Imprint

	Titles	Proportion
1. Britain London, 1,450; Oxford, 80; Cambridge, 25; Edinburgh, 6; other known imprints, 12; uncertain imprints, 64	1,637	45.0%
2. The Netherlands Amsterdam, 349; Leyden, 151; The Hague, 43; Antwerp and Utrecht, 35 each; Rotterdam, 30; other known imprints, 65; uncertain imprints, 5	713	19.6%
3. France Paris, 433; Lyons, 74; Rouen, 25; other known imprints, 51; uncertain imprints, 34	617	16.9%
4. German States, Poland, &c., Frankfurt-am-Main, 89; Cologne, 69; Strasbourg, 25; other known imprints, 175	358	9.8%
5. Switzerland Basle, 73; Geneva, 48; Zürich, 14; other known imprints, 5	140	3.9%
6. Italy Venice, 56; Rome, 13; Florence, 10; other known imprints, 28	107	2.9%
7. Denmark, 16 (Copenhagen, 15; Sorø, 1) Sweden, 8 (Lund and Uppsala 3 each; Stockholm, 2) America, 5 (Philadelphia, 4; Boston, 1) Spain, 3 Portugal, 3 Books of uncertain imprint and manuscripts	35 34	1.9%
Total	3,641	100%

Here the remarkable centralization of the publishing trade in our country as compared with other countries is clear for all to see. Four in every ten books which Locke acquired were published in London, yet he had more works printed in Frankfurt-am-Main than in his own university at Oxford, as many from Rouen as from Cambridge, almost as many from the tiny English colonies in the North American continent as he had from Scotland.

These details serve to emphasize how much more European than national learning then was. To be a man of letters in England implied acquaintance with the intellectual society of Paris, Amsterdam, Venice, Basle, and Copenhagen as well as of London and the two English university towns. Locke had three books published in the little German town of Herborn; six, including one of his own unacknowledged authorship, from Gouda in Holland, one each from Triviglio in Italy and from the small settlement of Sorø in Denmark.

Not all his books, of course, were the work of the authors, publishers, and printers of his own day. Although Locke was no lover of old books for the sake of their age, about a quarter of those he acquired had been published before he reached manhood and nearly a tenth before the year 1600. To be precise, there were two titles published in the fifteenth century, both in 1481 [1709 and 2332], 66 titles from the first half of the sixteenth century, and 251 from the second half. Many of the older books were editions of the Greek and Roman classics. Tully was Locke's favourite Latin author, perhaps his favourite author altogether. There are 29 entries under *Cicero* in this catalogue [711-721⁹], 13 of them, it will be seen, were published before 1600. One came out in Basle in 1528, one in Antwerp in 1546: others were from Paris, 1544; Lyons, 1547; Frankfurt, 1592; Geneva, 1596. Locke's *Plato* was also an early printed book from Basle, this time dated 1532 [2333], and his versions of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Ethics* were published in the same city in 1582 [119 and 121].

Locke's holdings of Aristotle must be considered unsatisfactory, for a philosopher of his rank, that is to say, and judged on the standards which he set himself as the creator of a scholarly library. This may have its significance for his general intellectual attitude, since he evidently took much greater pains with authors either more congenial to him or of greater intellectual importance to his own work. The entries for Machiavelli, for example, show that he acquired the definitive edition of the Works, *Tutte le Opere*, 1550 [1848], whilst he was in France in the 1670's. He acquired also copies of the English translations of the important books, the *Prince* and the *Discourses* issued by Edward Dacres in 1636 and 1640 [1852 and 1853] before he left for Holland, and in that country in the 1680's went on to buy the corrected Latin version of the *Prince* [1856].

It would be unwise to argue too confidently from these facts about Locke's library. We know very well that he was deeply versed in Aristotle, however small his collection of

Aristotelian texts, and that no literary debt to Machiavelli shows upon the surface for all his pains to collect editions of that author. It is when there is other evidence to confirm what his library lists suggest that we find ourselves on secure ground.

It is certainly surprising that he never possessed more than three of the books of Thomas Hobbes, his great philosophical predecessor, the name with which his own is nearly always coupled. They were the *Leviathan* and two works in Latin, one on natural philosophy, the *Problemata physica*, and the other the encomium on the Peak District [1464-6]. What we also know is that Locke made almost no references to the Hobbesian texts in all the vast volume of notes and citations which fill his great series of notebooks. And it has been discovered that even his own *Leviathan* was not available to him for the decisive eighteen years of his intellectual life; Tyrrell had it.¹

His copy of Spinoza's major work, the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [2743] was similarly stored away at Oakley, though only for the period of his exile. He finally possessed far more of the sparser output of this philosopher than ever he did of Hobbes. He had Spinoza's posthumous works, for example, and the tract on Descartes [see 2518 and 2742]. His public repudiation of any deep acquaintance with either of these suspected thinkers is much more convincing in the case of Hobbes than it is for Spinoza. More in keeping with Locke's puritanical reputation, though still very surprising in a man of such deep theological interests, is that he had no work of Martin Luther whatsoever, but two copies of Calvin's *Institutes* [570 and 571].

All these must be considered as important facts in Locke's intellectual life; the reader interested in his philosophical development may find even greater oddities in the catalogue which follows. Despite the fact that philosophical books account for only 7.4 per cent of the library as analysed in Table 1, it is probably fair to say that Locke possessed about as many works on philosophical subjects as ought to be expected. In recognizing that he held more than three times the number of titles on theology and more than twice the number on medicine, it must be remembered how few strictly philosophical works there were for him to buy. Indeed, the distinction between philosophy and theology has had to be quite rough, and Locke himself might well quarrel with some of our decisions. Where would he have put Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System* [896] which he bought second hand at Cooper's auction in December 1681, perhaps because of the fresh influence of the author's daughter Damaris? Under Philosophy, where we have placed it, or under Religion, which was undoubtedly what Cudworth had in mind when he wrote it? And if a book by the devotional writer, John Norris of Bemerton, called *Christian Blessedness* [2094] went on to

¹ See Laslett's edition of *Two Treatises of Government*, pp. 71-74.

include *Reflections upon a late Essay concerning Human Understanding*, would Locke have been content to classify it under Religion, as we have done?

This much can be safely said of Locke's philosophical books, and of every other subject in his library. If he is found with a good collection in his final catalogue, especially if there is evidence that he was extending his holdings in his later years, then that writer or that subject must have had his approval. It can, then, be quite confidently asserted that Hobbes did not interest Locke particularly, not as much as Machiavelli, not beyond the point where he felt that every good library should have *Leviathan*. Locke did not want Hobbes's literary company.

He was, on the other hand, deeply interested in unitarian theology and in the doctrine of Socinus who was the founder of that position. We have only to look at the numbers of works he acquired on the subject, the six entries under that very heading, for example, and the other tracts of Stephen Nye [3007-11, and 2107-9]. His holdings of Socinus's own works confirm it [2704-12], especially since he can be shown to have acquired them whilst he was in Holland, though the editions were then all fifty or sixty years old. For all his unwillingness to repudiate the doctrine of the Trinity in public, for all his communication in the Church of England, Locke has left us enough evidence in his library lists alone to make it clear that his religious sympathies must have been with the unitarians.

This might help to confirm the view of his intellectual life which is now gaining ground amongst students of Locke, that his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, 1695, was a work of the first importance and that religious study of this sort was the true pre-occupation of his mature years. But when we turn from theology and philosophy to the other subjects which he felt to be essential to the library of a virtuoso we meet the man in an urbaner mood, the reader for pleasure and cultivation rather than the authoritative writer. Here we are introduced to the writer of *Thoughts on Reading and Study for a Gentleman*.

Natural philosophy, it will be remembered, was important to the man who would be at his ease in good society, because it was essential to good conversation. Perhaps it is for this, as well as for more fundamental intellectual reasons, that the author whose works Locke obviously collected and treasured, whose entry in the catalogues is the most extensive and painstaking, is Robert Boyle. We have no less than 62 entries under that one name [413 to 473]. Many of Boyle's books were given to Locke by their author; three of the five still to be seen in the library have the inscription 'Ex dono (Nobilissimi juxta ac Eruditissimi) Authoris' [445, 447, 453]. Others he certainly bought; the *Hydrostatical Paradoxes* of 1666 [415] cost him 3s. We know that Locke actually published one of Boyle's works posthumously, *The General History of the Air*, 1692 [460]. We also know, from evidence which will

be discussed in its due place, that he really read his copies of Boyle's works. He certainly read *The Sceptical Chymist* [444] now at Harvard. Locke, as has been said, did not distinguish more than roughly between natural science and medicine, and his notebooks confirm that this was so. The books of the great William Harvey belonged in both categories, and Locke possessed two of them: the famous anatomical exercises, *De Motu Cordis & Sanguinis* in the Rotterdam edition of 1654, and the study of reproduction, *De Generatione Animalium*, in the Amsterdam printing of 1651 [1397 and 1398]. Locke subscribed to the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society [2302] and his letters are full of references showing his anxiety to get every number; he left 22 volumes on his shelves. He bought Hooke's *Micrographia* [1488], and four other marvels in early microscopy by the great Swammerdam [2807-9]. He showed an obvious interest in the organization of natural science in his day, especially in the Royal Society itself, possessing Sprat's engaging *History of course* [2752] and two of the tracts in its defence [2506 and 2507]. As might be expected, the work of the founder of the English scientific movement, Francis Bacon, was handsomely represented in the library [162-78*]. Locke held the *Novum Organum* [169 and 170], the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* [168], the *New Atlantis* [177], the *Sylva Sylvarum* [163-5], and several editions of the *Essays* [171, 172, 178, 178*].

Locke owned a copy of the works of Galileo, perhaps two copies, which he bought in France [1208]; but comparison with the catalogue of the Bodleian Library made in 1674 shows that he made no pronounced effort to acquire much in the way of Galilean literature. In spite of his professional concern with anatomy and medicine, he had no copy of Vesalius, and his interest in the beginnings of English science was not strong enough to persuade him to buy the great pioneering work of Gilbert on magnetism, published in 1600. Unlike Newton, who had four, Locke possessed only one work of Paracelsus [2192*], but both men had an interest in alchemy and both seemed to relish the oddities of the *Kabbala Denudata*.¹ More typical, perhaps, of the learned and enlightened medical Fellow of the Royal Society in its halcyon years are the books by Thomas Sydenham [2810-16*], the greatest physician of this time, books which Locke himself helped to write, or the remarkable attempt at the anatomy of the brain by his contemporary Thomas Willis [3165]. In general, Locke's library showed an emphasis on the contemporary and practical in science, rather than on the historically interesting. Whether Locke's ownership of works by Glauber, Gesner, Mayerne, Borelli, Gabelchover, Huyghens, Malpighi, Borrichius, Sachs, Rolfinck, Pisanelli, and the rest make

¹ Locke had two copies of this book [558 and 558*], and knew that its author was Knorr von Rosenroth, Paganus in Latin. Locke also attributes 1647, *A Cabalistical Dialogue*, 1682, to von Rosenroth, though it is usually supposed to be by van Helmont. He may have had some substantial knowledge of alchemy and cabalistic literature, though the evidence of his books on this point must be left to the expert.

of his catalogue a landmark in the literature of the scientific revolution is for historians of science in our own time to decide.

The full exploration of the resources of Locke's library in scientific works would be a lengthy and rewarding undertaking. When we turn to the other activities of the early English men of science, to economics, for example, or to political arithmetic (which we might call demography or even demographic sociology), we find ourselves within a much more confined space. Locke had two editions of the most original work in the social sciences published in his time, Graunt's *Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality* [1311 and 1312], and he went to the trouble, while in France, of acquiring what seems to have corresponded to the bills of mortality for Paris [191]. Whilst he lived in Rotterdam he noted down the weekly totals of burials in the city. He had Petty on *Political Arithmetic* [2282-2*], though not all the relevant tracts, and he was consulted about the publication of the posthumous work under that title which appeared in 1691 [2280]. This marks him as far more interested in the fundamentals of social structure than ever Newton was, for he had none of these books. It is a curious fact that Locke did not round off his collection of works on this topic by acquiring Charles Davenant's *Essay upon the Probable Methods of Making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade*, 1699, for this contained the only published results of the remarkable statistical work of Gregory King. Still his library demonstrates that Locke was abreast of the most advanced sociology of his time.

The same cannot quite convincingly be said of economics, which is the stranger since he wrote very influential tracts on the subject and gave governments important advice, especially in the 1690's. Professor C. B. Macpherson, an authority on the economic literature which Locke might be supposed to have used, has been kind enough to list the 70 most important titles: only 11 or 12 appear in this catalogue. The 127 which we have classified as economic refer particularly to problems of currency and sometimes contain works of authors on Macpherson's lists other than those which have attained historical importance.¹

Still the same prescience as he showed in sociological literature cannot be expected everywhere. The specifically economic titles were extremely few in comparison with others in print in Locke's time. Greater knowledge might make it evident that to have possessed more than a hundred books on economics by the year 1704 was, itself, an achievement in scholarly bibliography. Not very many of the titles we now class as important for the development of economics appear in the Bodleian Library catalogue of 1674.

The same arguments apply with particular rigour to another of the subjects on which

¹ The five works of Sir Josiah Child, for example, (*A Discourse of the Nature etc. of Trade*, 1694), though Newton had it.

Locke is an important authority, one of the most influential in its history. When he wrote those letters to Edward Clarke from Holland in the 1680's which became in 1693 *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, John Locke cannot have had access to more than a dozen or so works which we should describe as educational, and when he died in 1704 he possessed only 20. Here is one of the implications of intellectual innovation clearly demonstrated. Since he was the man who did most to define education as a subject of inquiry and generalization, there must have been few works of predecessors to own and draw upon. The historian of education may find it surprising that Locke possessed neither Milton's tract when he himself wrote and published,¹ nor Ascham's *Scholemaster*, nor Elyot's *Governour*. It is a challenge to him to discover all that he can from Locke's library about what he did take from books in print to weld into a novel intellectual category.

The titles of Locke's printed books are one source of information about his tastes as a reader. Further information is contained in six of the eight manuscript notebooks which were placed among the books in his study at Otes, those entitled either *Lemmata* or *Adversaria* and containing entries laid out more or less in the fastidious and complicated fashion prescribed in Locke's own *Method of a Common Place Book*. This *Méthode Nouvelle de dresser les Recueils* was, in effect, the first scholarly publication by John Locke; the attitude to books and their uses which it reveals tells us a great deal about him as the owner of a working library,² and he must have had exemplars of the method before him when he wrote it. One of them was the paper-book from Chancery we have already discussed. All six notebooks [23^a, 23^b, 24, 25, 1712, 1713] consist of extracts from books referenced in the peculiar fashion which we shall shortly describe.

The two remaining bound volumes in his manuscript collection are equally inter-related with his practical and intellectual interests and with his printed books. They are the two huge folios of pressed flowers, *Herbarium Vivum* [1427 and 1428], objects which gave such a shock of excitement when they first came to light, daffodils and larkspur, deadnettle and betony, still yellow, purple, white, and green. Though these volumes must contain some of the oldest flowers of the English countryside to survive from the time when the countryside was the universal background to English life, they were, in fact, gathered in the Oxford Botanic Garden, the Physick Garden as it was called, since botany was a medical

¹ As far as can be seen Locke's first contact with Milton *Of Education* came when he acquired the prose works after 1693 [1994], though he had read and acquired his writings on other subjects, see Laslett's *Two Treatises*, Appendix B, no. 57.

² Locke's science of librarianship is discussed below. The

Method was first published in French in the second volume of Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle* in July 1686 and included in English in Locke's *Posthumous Works* in 1706. Much remains to be done on the highly varied but highly significant subject of Locke's scholarly technique.

study. Each plant Locke pressed he duly entered into his copy of the printed catalogue of the Garden, *Catalogus Horti Botanici Oxoniensis*, 1658 [360], now in the Bodleian Library. He finally collected almost a thousand, between 1661 and 1665.¹

At that time he had no store of paper-books to mount his flowers upon. Still day after day, term after term there piled up in his chamber the exercises delivered by his pupils, the undergraduates of Christ Church, their Latin proses, Latin verses, exercises in Greek, each duly signed by its author. So it came about that Locke's specimens are meticulously set out and annotated on pages which bear the boyish hands of his pupils. These two volumes comprise not only a great collection of early English flowers and plants, but also by far the largest number of undergraduate exercises, not many of them corrected it may be said, to survive from seventeenth-century universities.

As the pages in books which belonged to Locke are turned over, a pressed leaf will still sometimes fall from an opening, especially from a bound manuscript. Sometimes, too, a tiny strip of paper will be found, smooth-edged for the most part but with torn edges towards the tip. These are book-marks which he cut for his use, turning old letters into a sort of limp comb for the purpose; several such combs were found with his books. The presence of these markers shows that the work has been read and that something in it had to be remembered. Indications such as this, and all the evidence of Locke's having actually read a volume, are commonest in his books of travel, exploration, and geography, all those in the category we have chosen to name comparative anthropology.

Everyone who has had occasion to comment on Locke's books has pointed out that works of this sort were the great strength of his collection.² Here we can be quite certain, even without numbers of private libraries to compare with Locke's, that the presence of 195 titles which can be called *Voyages and Travel* made it a very remarkable collection. The fact that the inclusion of his volumes of geography proper—maps and actual description of countries—only brings this area of his interests up to fifth place in our rough subject catalogue must again be explained by the relative paucity of books to buy. Locke certainly seems to have bought any he could lay his hands on, at all periods of his life. He did so for straightforward reasons of authorship.

The first, and shortest, of the three books of the *Essay concerning Humane Understanding* may be taken as an example. In the original edition of 1690, Locke quoted precisely nine

¹ See J. W. Gough, 'John Locke's Herbarium', *Bodleian Library Record*, vii, 1, June 1962, which also corrects the statements made on the Herbarium by Peter Laslett in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 11 March 1960. See also P. Long, 'The Mellon Donation of Additional MSS. of

John Locke from the Lovelace Collection', *Bodleian Library Record*, vii, 4, Sept. 1964.

² See Miss H. C. Hughes, 'John Locke's Library', *The Book Collector's Quarterly*, no. xii, October 1933, p. 32.

authorities in the course of this book, two of them twice, though in the final, posthumous edition of 1705, the number rose to sixteen. Of these sixteen, all but one come under the heading of travel literature, and even this volume can be described as belonging to comparative anthropology or comparative religion. No less than twelve of the sixteen are listed in this catalogue as being present in Locke's final library. A glance at the history of his copies of these books illustrates the very close relationship between his holdings and the content of his writings; it demonstrates the working library at its work.

The travel writers which Locke quoted are Thévenot, Isaac Vossius, Peter Martyr, Garcilasso de la Vega, Léry, Baumgarten, Pietro della Valle, La Martinière, Terry, Ovington, Techo, La Loubère, Jacques de Bourges, Choisy, and Navarette; the remaining work was the *Historia Cultus Sinensium* [688]. Six of these authors were bought in France in the 1670's: Thévenot [2889], Garcilasso de la Vega [3058], Léry [1718], Pietro della Valle [3046], La Martinière [1928], and Bourges [407]. All six then were available to Locke for the years between his visit to France and his stay in Holland, though they were divided between London and Oxford, and only one, La Martinière, was at hand in his own copy in Holland and then only because he bought a duplicate there. He had bought his Terry on East India [2857] in time to register it at Oxford in 1681, and it followed the rest of the collection to Oakley when he was in Holland. Choisy, *Voyage de Siam*, 1687 [693], entered his Dutch library almost as soon as it was published, but neither La Loubère on Siam [1811], nor Ovington on Suratt [2160], nor the work on Chinese religion [688], was in print soon enough for the first edition of the *Essay*, since they appeared in 1691, 1696, and 1700, to be bought and quarried for his revision to his text. Peter Martyr [1930], was bought in Holland, but Vossius was not in Locke's final library. Nor were the travel books of Baumgarten and of Techo, not, that is to say, in the library as it was when Locke died. They were, however, planned to appear in English form in the collection of *Voyages* which the Churchills were preparing with Locke's advice in his final years. Baumgarten, he himself had said in the *Essay*, was 'a book not every day to be met with'.

The first book of Locke's *Essay*, then, shows how intimately his authorship was bound up with his library, and how bookish an author he required himself to be. But Locke's interest in travel literature was general as well as specific, and extremely wide. It went all the way from Christopher Columbus on his own famous voyage [815], part of the collection on the *New World* published by Grynaeus in 1532 [2101], to Martin Martin's *A late Voyage to St. Kilda, the remotest of all the Hebrides or Western Isles of Scotland*, 1698 [1923]. He did not buy his Hakluyt [1374], or his Purchas [2409], until he was settled at Otes, when he also purchased Tasman's *Voyage made towards the South Terra Incognita* [2833], and Thomas's

Pensilvania and West New Jersey, 1698 [2891], on their publication. Lederer's *Discoveries from Virginia to the West of Carolina*, 1672 [1706] and *A Perfect Description of Virginia* [3096], dated 1649, presumably came into his possession when he worked on colonial matters for Shaftesbury. If it is legitimate to relate the new intellectual world of Locke and Newton with the newly discovered continents of their contemporary explorers and colonists, then Locke's library contained just what it should have done. No wonder one of the alleged posthumous works of John Locke is entitled 'A Catalogue and Character of most Books of Voyages and Travels'. The attribution is extremely dubious, but the jibes of the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury at 'the credulous Mr. Locke' and his love of travellers' tales had their foundation in fact.

We need go no further now in describing the library which was assembled, classified, extended and embellished during those final years in the manor house at Otes, for the catalogue speaks for itself. Little need be said of Locke's attitude, perhaps his indifference, to literature as such, to humane letters. In spite of his melancholy reputation with the literary critics, in spite of his own preference for Sir Richard Blackmore, the physician-poet with his insufferable *King Arthur* [341], in spite of the fact that English literature ranked below French in his library and consisted of not many more volumes than he had dictionaries, there are glimpses of grace in the catalogue. The poems of John Donne are to be found here [990], and so also is Milton's *Paradise Lost* in its first edition, dated 1669 [1993]: both of them may have been bought on publication. The Bodleian Library had only the 1633 edition of Donne's poems in 1674, for contemporary English literature was not then a part of the academic librarian's responsibilities, and there cannot have been many Oxford dons who, like Locke, had these books in his rooms in 1681, along with the first edition of Ben Jonson's *Works* [1583]. In its last period his collection contained an even more unexpected item, a quarto play of Shakespeare's, *Henry IV* [2642]. Perhaps Locke has been too harshly judged on the literary score. But this is hardly the place to come to the rescue of a schoolfellow of Dryden's who never owned a poem by that master and whose favourite reading, when he could lay down his everlasting books of travel, was French romance, some of it salacious.

Perhaps his books of reference should have been discussed as a subject in themselves, because they were probably the heart of the collection from the point of view of its owner. Locke had notable runs of most of the important learned journals of his day, which was in fact the time when such publications first began to appear. There was the *Acta Eruditorum* from Leipzig [8], well over 25 volumes running from 1682 to 1701, the later ones supplied from Amsterdam by Wetstein. There was the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique* [332], published in Amsterdam by Le Clerc from 1686 to 1699; Locke's complete run of 24 volumes bound in 22 is still part of his library. Then there were the *Transactions of the Royal Society*

[2302], the *Journal des Sçavans* [1589 and 1590], the *Bibliothèque choisie* published by Le Clerc [777], the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* [2099], as well as parts of other periodicals. With his dictionaries, his concordances, his sale-catalogues and probably his set of the *Term Catalogues*, his atlases, his histories of the referential sort, his introductions, manuals, guides, grammars, epitomes, ranged all round him, what John Locke wanted most of all was a clear and precise idea on a defined subject, as quickly and accurately as he could get it. The proper scholar's instrument for this was a shelving and cataloguing system so efficient and reliable that every likely source for every likely fact could be recovered in a moment. The shelving, marking, and cataloguing of the items in Locke's library must now be described.

IV. LOCKE'S LIBRARY PRACTICE: SHELVING, MARKING, CATALOGUING BOOKS

Not even a polymath of the heroic cast could build up a library without some guides to books, some compendium to tell him what titles there were to acquire. Apart from sketches such as Bishop Barlow's, the obvious authority of this sort in England at this time was the printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library. It may be significant of Locke's attitude towards his books and his intentions as the builder of a library that he did not buy this catalogue, *Catalogus Impressorum Librorum Bibliothecae Bodlejanae in Academia Oxoniensi*, when it first appeared in 1674 [1539¹], but waited until he had got to Holland and found he had time and opportunity to acquire books as he pleased. Thomas Hyde, Librarian, was the author of this substantial work, and it will be referred to from now on simply by the title *Hyde*. Newton, probably, along with most other serious owners of books, also had a *Hyde*, but Locke's intentions in 1685 or 1686 when he got his copy seem to have been part of a long-term plan. For he had the sheets bound up and interleaved, and from then on resolved to make of his enormous document (it contained over 1,500 large, thick pages) the master guide to his collection.

This is what he did. The interleaves were ruled in columns, two to a page, and used for comments on the entries appearing on the printed pages, further titles being entered on these interleaves in manuscript where they were not included in the printed catalogue. At first he seems to have used the document mainly for comment on titles and on authors rather than for cataloguing his own possessions or acquisitions. The commonest comment was the vital one, the price asked for a particular work, given in florins and stuivers. But he also wrote down opinions taken from periodicals, from other books, from letters, from conversation. Very soon, however, and perhaps from the very beginning of his ownership of *Hyde*, he began to mark his own holdings with the letter *I* in the margins, originally a small *I* on the interleaves but after a little while a capital *L*. Where he found himself in possession

of a title in the printed catalogue he placed his capital *L* in the margin at the entry concerned.¹ The photograph reproduced in Plates 3 and 4 shows the opening in *Hyde* where his Boyles are registered.

In this way Locke produced a listing of the sort which was to be found in many colleges at Oxford and Cambridge right into the nineteenth or twentieth century. Very little of the writing appears on the printed pages, both because Hyde was over ten years old when the entries were begun and because the Bodleian possessed so little which Locke acquired, even for the period before 1674.² As the years went on, the interleaves became studded with records of the titles he owned, and the other uses of the manuscript tended to fall away. Still occasional comments appear on an author or a title until the end, most often quotations from other writers, but sometimes comments of his own, quite frequently made in symbols. Although they were never allowed to put a pen to the books themselves, Locke's writing assistants were permitted to make catalogue entries in *Hyde*. But Locke himself wrote out most of the enormous wordage to be seen in the document. When it was found at Ben Damp Forest it was almost bristling with his little paper book-marks, and many a pressed leaf from the fields round Otes was still between the pages.

Hyde seems to have been packed away with his other Dutch purchases in 1689, and, like so many of the rest, it stayed in its package for two years and more. Once at Otes, however, its use began in earnest. Whilst he and his assistant Sylvester Brownover were unpacking the cases and perhaps whilst the joiner was making book boxes and placing them in frames, Locke entered each title at the appropriate place in *Hyde*, and added his characteristic marginal *L*. No doubt he took care to check the titles against his previous catalogues. After a while he dropped the *L* for entries on the interleaves, though he kept it for marking entries on the printed pages,³ and before the long and tiring task was finished he had to ask Brownover to take over the writing part.

Quite a considerable number of volumes still remained to be catalogued, and all the pamphlets. Brownover's work never approached the standard of his master's even when, as sometimes happened, he was writing at Locke's dictation.⁴ It must have been the end

¹ There are very occasional irregularities as when he marked 277 with *λ* 4.

² Comment has already been made on the thinness of Bodley's holdings in economics and in English literature and the criticism could be extended to general literature. Unlike Locke, for example, the library in 1674 lacked a copy of that famous if meretricious work, Kenelm Digby on *The Power of Sympathy* 1658 [965]. But most of the works Locke possessed, and Bodley did not, have continental imprints.

³ One or two of the *L*'s (and *I*'s) were subsequently

converted into what looks like *K*, perhaps as a sign that they had been given to Peter King.

⁴ See 114 and 1101 (under the *Mimachus Felix* entry) where Brownover evidently misheard or misunderstood, producing 'Phriseline' for Frischlini and 'L. Menhorstij' for Elmenhorstius. Neither of these works are marked with *L* in *Hyde*, for Brownover only very occasionally used *L* to mark his interleaf entries. His lack of understanding has sometimes made it impossible for us to identify a title, and it may be that on these occasions he was alone at Otes.

of 1691 before the work was finished, for the books from Tyrrell cannot have been tackled before November of that year. When all this was finally done, the library had taken on something of its final, physical shape, but master and man still had more things to do.

The whole collection had to be press-marked. This was perhaps begun before the original cataloguing was complete, and the labour seems to have been strictly divided: Locke himself marked the actual books and Brownover made the catalogue entries and additions. Every individual volume then at Otes and every one which subsequently arrived there was allotted its mark and was made to show it in two standard positions, on the spine and inside the front board. The spines were labelled if the book was bound in calf, and Locke's own handwriting can still be read on many of the minute pieces of paper which he cut to size and then pasted into position. In the case of books bound in vellum he wrote directly on to the white, shiny surface. Both types of spine-marking can be seen in Plate 5, and a marking inside the front board is reproduced, along with the signature of the owner and two letters which we shall consider in a moment, in Plate 6.

Press-marking may have taken up months of such time as Locke could spare from all the other business he is known to have had in the years 1692 and 1693. Not until all the books had been treated in this way and every press-mark put into the catalogue was the library fit for use, because it was never arranged by subject matter and the only way of finding a book was by looking up its title and so discovering from the press-mark its position in the range of boxes. But Locke was not content with one catalogue, with his interleaved Hyde. Brownover was required to make up a second copy, a sort of hand-list, giving short titles for the most part and carefully reproducing the press-marks. It seems to have been an epitome of the information already in Hyde, though it may not have been entirely a straight copy of that master-source, and is, we have found, to a limited extent an independent listing.

When this whole complex process was at last complete, Locke had two lists of his books. One was a master list which (as we ourselves have found) was neither easy to move nor convenient to consult, and the other much less unwieldy. This first shorter catalogue only lasted for two or three years, for acquisitions were coming in so fast that by 1697 all the reserve space was used up. In the latter year two further, final major operations were undertaken in the library at Otes. Each book was checked against the catalogues, and the symbols *b*, *bc*, or *c* were placed alongside of the press-mark inside the front cover of every volume present at Otes and belonging to Locke. This was done by Locke himself, determined that not even a solitary marking in an alien hand should appear on a book which he owned.

Finally a copy was made in a more convenient, larger paper-book of the second, shorter catalogue. This was in use until Locke's death.¹

Such in outline was Locke's cataloguing system, and such were the documents it made use of. The last of them, the second shorter catalogue, was not made by Brownover, but by another, later writing assistant, for Brownover had left Otes by the autumn of 1697 to take up a post under his master's patronage at the Board of Trade in London. After the initial copying out, all additions to the shorter catalogue and to all the library documents, books and registers, were made by the owner. Now that the nature of his library system has been once described, the tasks which this particular bibliophile imposed upon himself may be recapitulated. For this will introduce us to the inner mysteries.

When John Locke acquired a book, at least in the final period of his life, he proceeded thus. First he wrote his name inside the front cover, following it, when it was appropriate, by a record of the man who had given him the volume. Then he underlined the last two digits of the date on the title, only excepting books published in the sixteenth century, when he underlined the last three. Roman or arabic numerals, it made no difference. Next he turned to the final page and overlined the numeration. In the photograph in Plate 6, all these details appear as they are to be seen on the copy of the French translation of Locke's book on Government [1291]. The phrase written on the title is, as we shall see, an instance of a very rare occurrence, and the odd sign under *FIN* on the last page will be considered anon.

Underlining the date and overlining the pagination were peculiar to Locke, and registered the book as his, even if his signature should be obliterated, or the whole front board lost. When these signs are placed together, moreover, they provide a form of shorthand reference to the book concerned. In Locke's notebooks we find such references as,

Choisy 82 377

To him this meant his edition of Choisy, F. T., *Journal du Voyage de Siam* [693], published in 1687 and containing 377 pages, a book which has already been referred to as one of those quoted in the *Essay*. If a page number was in question [say 107], it could be added to the pagination, and the result was a figure looking like a fraction, thus $\frac{107}{377}$. Even without the 82 indicating date of publication, such a figure provides a swift and precise way of

¹ Unlike Hyde, these two shorter catalogues are in the Bodleian Library, MS. Locke f. 16 (the earlier of the two) and MS. Locke c. 3. Together they provide a very useful check on the Hyde catalogue, and even contain some titles not present there. The rule that only Locke was allowed to

write on his books is not quite invariable. Damaris Masham wrote for him on the interleaves of a Bible [307], see p. 39 and Sylvester Brownover helped with the index added on the flies of one of his copies of the first edition of the *Reasonableness of Christianity* [697], now at Harvard.

indicating a passage in a book, if it is a book in your own library or one whose pagination you have recorded, for it is unlikely that any other work by the author named would have precisely the same pagination. In fact the reference to this work in the first book of the *Essay* is in this characteristic form, with the title written out thus:¹

Choisy, *Journal du Voyage de Siam* [sic for 1077] [sic for 1077]

In such useful, if apparently cryptic ways as these, Locke's library practice entered into his work as an author. But this is only the beginning of his personal sign language for his books.

Let us return to the man himself, standing in his study with a new acquisition in his hand. The action he took after the underlining and overlining process depended on whether he had bought the book or not. If he had paid a price he turned to the lower margin of the eleventh page, sometimes to the ninth or the thirteenth: if the pages had no numbers he would stop at the first page of the second gathering. There he wrote down the price *digits*, pounds towards the left, shillings in the middle and pence to the right. Or it might be Dutch crowns, florins, and stuivers. In the photograph in Plate 7 he records on page 11 of *Florus* [1146] the price: 2 florins, 6 stuivers. This little action calls up an intriguing picture of the great savant solemnly considering a visitor's request to borrow or to buy a volume. His slow rustling of the leaves was not simply deliberation. He was finding out how much the book had cost him.

Every fortunate owner of a volume which once belonged to Locke, then, must look further than the fly-leaf for the diacritical marks. After Locke had registered his ownership in this indelible, unmistakable fashion, he decided whether the book was to be bound on its own or with others; he had his own binder and his own severe style, recognizable to anyone who has handled his library: glance again at Plate 5.² The press-mark, determined simply by size, was also inserted on acquisition after 1692-3 when the books already owned had been given their two-tier numbers. The Choisy we have been using as an example had the press-mark ⁸₁₄₄, sharing this mark with Tachard [2821] with which it was bound. This volume stood on Locke's shelves between Edward Jorden, *A Discourse of Naturall Bathes and Mineral Waters*, 4^o, London, 1632, ⁸₁₄₃ [1585] and Josephus à Costa, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, 4^o, London, 1604, ⁸₁₄₅ [859], hence their successive numbers.

¹ See the 9th ed., 1706 (posthumous *editio princeps*), page 43 in the text, and compare marginal references on page 38 (Martiniere ⁸₁₄₄, Terry ⁸₁₄₄ &c.). Editors of the *Essay* have faithfully reproduced this fractional sign (see e.g. Fraser's critical ed., Oxford, 1894, vol. 1, p. 104) but with no indication that they recognized its meaning. Locke himself describes the convention in his *Method of a Common*

Place Book (*Works*, 10th ed., 1801, vol. 3, pp. 314-15). He indicates that he was 'able by the rule of three' to place roughly a given passage in any edition of a book.

² Both of these are books on which Locke himself has written the title as well as the press-mark of the volume on the spine. We have recorded two names of binders, both in 1681: William Shaw (he bound 2002) and Mr. Powell.

It is possible that Locke had some purpose in placing Choisy next to Acosta, since both were books belonging to that body of anthropological knowledge which so engaged him. But there is no discernible connexion of either title with Jorden on the spas, and study of the library makes it obvious that Locke by and large paid no regard to contents when he ranged his books in their boxes. He relied on his catalogues and his reference system.

All these three books were small quartos, but we must repeat that it was their common size, all being about 8 inches tall, and not their format which decided that they should be placed in the same box. Locke had some 515 books which measured 8 inches: most of them were octavos, all alike found their places in boxes of the appropriate height, and had press-marks with 8 in the superior position. But 515 items will not go into a series limited to 253 places, and more than half of the books in class 8 bore one of the regular combinations followed by a letter, thus

⁸_{15a} for George Psalmanazar's *Formosa*, published in 1704 [2399]

or

⁸_{301b} for Beza's book on punishing heretics, Paris, 1554 [301]

and

⁸_{33c} for Allix on the Books of Moses, London, 1687 [75]

These alphabetical suffixes suggest two further facts about Locke's library. He was obviously pressed for space to accommodate his accessions in his final years, and, therefore, books bearing alphabetical suffixes may all be late acquisitions.

The following Table sets out the full range of the press-marks used, and shows that the total number of volumes standing in the final 1704 library was something like a thousand more than was provided for by the range of digits used within the classes. Over a third of Locke's bound books, therefore, had press-marks with alphabetical suffixes. The numbers

TABLE 4
Locke's Book Press-Marks

3	1 vol. only	8-8	515 vols.	13-13	57 vols.	18-18	19 vols.
4		9-9	246 vols.	14-14	103 vols.	19-19	3 vols.
5	7 vols.	10-10	141 vols.	15-15	60 vols.	20-20	4 vols.
6	39 vols.	11-11	63 vols.	16-16	57 vols.	21-21	1 vol. only
7		12-12	29 vols.	17-17	25 vols.	22-22	
8	355 vols.	13-13		18-18			
9	793 vols.	14-14					

Total in digits 1559
Total vols. present 2518
D

are uncertain because not all the possible digit combinations were used, and some of them, on the contrary, were used more than once with no letter added. No book, as far as is known had the press-mark $\frac{8}{185}$ or $\frac{8}{151}$, for example, but two books (Deagent's *Mémoires*, 1668 [929], and the French translation of Locke on *Education*, 1695 [1784]) had the press-mark $\frac{7}{44}$. Nevertheless, if a book has an alphabetical suffix to its press-mark there must be a presumption that it was acquired late, after the original allocation took place, whatever its date of publication.

All this can only be a matter of guesswork and reconstruction and for this reason the link between the alphabetical suffix and late acquisition cannot be regarded as an invariable rule. There seems to be a difference between classes (sizes) and even between areas of the numerical series within each class. Psalmanazar's book conforms, of course, and titles published after about 1698 seem universally to have the suffix, but the Beza was, in fact, acquired in Holland before 1689; its suffix may be due to its having been catalogued late for some special reason, but it may also be that Locke decided to use the suffix from the very beginning, in a few cases. The work by Allix, on the other hand, does seem, from negative evidence, to have been acquired late, after the move to Otes. If a year had to be chosen for the time when Locke ceased to allot press-marks without alphabetical suffixes, 1695 might be the likely candidate, though, as might be expected, space in some sized boxes ran out earlier than it did in others.¹ By 1697, when the books present were all checked (rather confusingly) with *b*, *bc*, or *c*, alphabetical suffixes were certainly in use for the press-marks. It looks as if Locke may have press-marked his filled up boxes between 1694 and 1696 and decided to allot only press-marks with letters thereafter, with certain exceptions.

It seems justifiable to infer, therefore, that by 1695 he had filled up his room, as most book-collectors do. This would imply that no more book-boxes were made from then on, so that every new volume coming to the library would have to be shelved behind one of those already present, and given a press-mark identical with that on the spine of the book which stood in front of it with an added letter. This practice of double banking obviously implies that the boxes had originally been made deep enough to accommodate two rows of books at least. The suffixes were used for the separate volumes of multi-volume works acquired in the later years, and this seems to imply double banking too. So does duplication of press-marks: when in 1695 Locke came to shelve his French *Education*, we may guess that Deagent had been the victim of the displacement which must occur in any library so crowded up as this one was.

¹ Boxes size 7 in. and 8 in. seem to have got filled up first, which is natural since most books then, as now, tended to be about that size, but in some of the 10 in. boxes front space seems to have been available at least till 1698.

Evidence and inference of this sort go to show that the one document which was missing from Locke's library system was a shelf list. Some two-and-a-half centuries after the division of his books we have been able to rectify this omission for him by close analysis of Hyde. Accordingly the 840 or so volumes now in the Locke collection at Oak Spring, Upperville, Virginia, stand in the same order as they once did amongst all the others at Otes in Essex.

Simple as they are in principle, however, and free from complication arising out of shelving by subject, Locke's press-marks can be confusing. They have to be held apart from his symbolic method of indicating the particular page of a particular book he was referring to, his fractional signs. 'Choisy $\frac{107}{197}$ ' was such a page reference, it will be remembered, but $\frac{8}{144}$ was the press-mark of the volume concerned. The digits in these two signs could have been much closer to each other (if page 8, for example, had been the one in question when Locke quoted Choisy in his *Essay*), and the mark of distinction between the two signs, the central line, is quite easy to overlook. More difficult to remember, curiously enough, is the fact that in the press-marks the upper numbers refer to size and not to format, and so increase with the measurements of the pages, rather than decrease, as format numbers do.

Even now, the range of press-marks in Locke's library is not exhausted since the pamphlets he owned were differently dealt with. This similar but distinctive series will be dealt with later on (see below, pp. 51-52), and here we must complete the story of how Locke marked and registered his accessions.

Though we have assumed in this account that the addition of the press-mark came last in the book-marking process, it might sometimes have come first, since it was so essential to the availability of the volume. Certainly Locke began by affixing the spine labels in the case of *Eikon Basilike Deutera* [1032], for he never got any further. Once he had press-marked a book, he could catalogue it, and his method of doing this in Hyde and in the ancillary catalogue has already been described. It can now be added that as well as placing his *L* against the printed entries in Hyde which he possessed, he underlined there the last two digits of the year of publication, wrote in the pagination, overlined it, finally adding the press-mark (see the photographs of his Boyle entries on Plates 3 and 4). In the manuscript entries on the interleaves the same rules were followed, though it would be wrong to give the impression that all these details are always found in every entry and some entries are a muddle. Hyde provided headings for its items, always the name of the author concerned, and Locke or his writing man did the same on the interleaves; where Locke had titles of an author additional to those possessed by Bodley both a printed and a manuscript heading for the writer will be found. Locke, as will be shown, went further with his headings than Bodley did, and used them to assemble groups of titles under the same

subject. Though the books themselves were not arranged by subject-matter, the catalogue was to some extent. When a title in the library was the same as a title in the Bodleian, but in a different edition, the printed Hyde entry was doctored in the usual way, but the date of Locke's edition was also added (see his registration of his 1666 edition of Boyle on *Formes and Qualities* on p. 104 of Hyde shown in Plate 3). Even smaller details of the manner in which Hyde was entered up will have to be given when we come to describe how the document has been treated for reproduction in the present volume. We may remark now, however, that Locke's methods of marking and cataloguing give him a claim to being a pioneer in what is now sometimes called the science of librarianship. They do tackle the problem of interrelating what has to be done physically to books in order to make them available for reading with what has to be done on paper to relate their contents.

Registration was now complete, and Locke could proceed to read his volume if he chose. Reading it, or assessing it, led him to make a whole series of signs, on some books at least. The first of these signs is quite commonplace: page lists often appear inside the back cover, a whole series of them in a book like Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist* [444], for example, now to be seen at Harvard. Even this recording of pages in the book of interest to him has been misunderstood sometimes, and the succession of digits interpreted as some sort of cypher. Not that this is the strangest of the vagaries which has affected those who have touched on the subject of Locke's library in relation to his writings. The late Benjamin Rand seems to have spent some time working on Locke's briefer catalogue to demonstrate the theory that it was a *Book of References*, as he called it, systematizing universal knowledge, the press-marks being interpreted as indicating page and line numbers in books.¹

Page lists of this sort tell us that Locke read Ray's *Travels* [2448], but not necessarily his books on British and on Cambridge plants [2444* and 2447]. He noted two pages, 114 and 118, of Toland's notorious deist tract *Christianity not Mystical* [2936], and made a four-entry list at the back of Fontenelle's *History of Oracles* [2133]. As might be expected, such markings are commonest in books of travel, like Ray's; Gage's *West Indies* [1205], Choisy [693] and Tachard [2821], Terry's *Ceylon* [2857], Acuña's four volumes (bound in two) on the *Amazon* [16], Edward Browne on *Central and South Eastern Europe* [498], are just a few of the titles so treated in that part of the library which can still be inspected. But a page list was not enough when Locke wished to study and to master the contents of a book. Many of his numerous Bibles and Testaments were interleaved in the same way as the one which he and

¹ Rand's papers at the Houghton Library, Harvard, however, are a source of some value for the history and content of Locke's books and papers, since he saw and

examined a great part of the King moiety (especially the manuscripts) before the break up of the Lovelace estates (see page 57).

Newton pored over together, and the writing pages abound with notes in his hand and occasionally in the hand of a friend, such as Damaris Masham (see Plate 8), or of his writing assistants. A few of the medical authorities were similarly treated, and sometimes Locke actually made an index to a book by having it bound with extra fly-leaves, marked up and filled in according to the principles of his method of a commonplace book. When a genius who did excel in taking pains really wanted to get to know something, the task was done with monumental thoroughness.²

Locke never seems to have underlined words or phrases in his books, though when he prepared a work of his own for reprinting he used the underlining convention to indicate italics. It took a text written in direct rebuttal of his personal beliefs and favourite arguments to sting him into making any extended marginal notes, as he did in his copies of the tracts which Sergeant and Burnet published against him.³ On the whole he left his margins well alone, and made his notes in his notebooks. He showed such admirable respect for the whiteness of his pages and the general appearance of the volumes standing in his boxes that it is possible to handle the remains of his library without realizing how much actual writing of his is contained within it. Something like one-eighth of the books of his at Ottes must, in fact, have carried some sign or other that he had read or paid some particular attention to them.⁴ Sometimes he went no further than to turn down the top corners of particular leaves. This was all he ever did to his copy of the works of Sir Robert Filmer [1120] whose writings he went over so exhaustively in his *Two Treatises of Government*. Sometimes he slipped in his paper book-marks. Now and then he wrote a note, or made an extract, on one of the fly-leaves, as he did on the first fly of a medical work by the German Georgius Hieronymus Velschius published in 1667 [3062]. He chose this remote and unlikely place to write out the only known extract he ever made from the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes.⁵

² Interleaved volumes and those with annotations are noted in our catalogue and are listed in Appendix II. Analysis of the notes which Locke made on the interleaves would take us far beyond the purpose of the present work, and has not so far been undertaken. Bibliographically most interesting of the interleaved books, and typical in its significance to Locke and Locke scholars, is his copy of Toimard's *Harmony*, a heroic effort to reconcile the gospels [2934]. The sheets for this book were printed much earlier than the time of publication, which was in 1707. In the late 1670's or the 1680's Locke received a set from Toimard, had them interleaved and bound, and made a few notes on the interleaves. The sheets had been printed on one side only.

³ J. W. Yolton has published in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xii, 4, Oct. 1951, an analysis of Locke's extensive mar-

ginal comments in his copy of Sergeant's *Solid Philosophy*, 1697 [2626], now in St. John's College, Cambridge, but the sparser notes in *The Method is Science* of the previous year [2627], at Oak Spring, have not been published. Locke's even more numerous notes on Burnet's *Remarks* on his *Essay*, 1699 [1799], one of the tracts in the Yale volume discussed on pages 52-53 were published by Noah Porter in 1887, see 'Marginalia Lockiana', *New England and Yale Review*, xlvii.

⁴ This rough calculation is made from the 870 or so books from the complete library which we have inspected, of which 144 or 17 per cent are marked in some way by Locke. It must be remembered that the King moiety, from which nearly all of these volumes came, contained by Locke's direction all the interleaved books.

⁵ See Laslett, *Two Treatises*, p. 74.

On very rare occasions Locke wrote a phrase, or even his name, on a title-page. *Pax et Libertas*, peace and liberty, were the words added to the title of the French translation of his work on Government (see Plate 6). But far and away the commonest marks to be found on the title-page are signs peculiar to him, code signs they might almost be called. He made frequent use of a dash with a series of dots either above or below it, never both at the same time, apparently to indicate the relative merits of editions of a book and to show whether he had more than one copy. The standard sign for the best edition seems to have been \cdot , sometimes written without the dash; often, however, only one dot, or two dots appear, thus $\cdot\cdot$ or $\cdot\cdot\cdot$. It is not certain whether the number of dots indicates relative merit of an edition, or how far the signs are meant to indicate the literary value of the contents as well. His duplicate mark is subject to less variation, always $\cdot\cdot$, as far as we can see, but again there is no way of knowing whether second copies are all that is intended by it.

Sometimes these signs, written on title-pages, are used along with letters. Sometimes letters appear alone; combinations like $b\cdot$, $\cdot\cdot t$, $\cdot\cdot b.v$, are occasionally seen. We do not know the meaning of these additions (for the last of them see the title-page of Dilly's *De l'âme des bêtes* [82] on the photograph in Plate 9), but it is interesting to find that signs of this sort are not confined to title-pages of books. They are also used throughout Hyde to indicate the same things (see also Plate 9), and in every context where Locke seems to have wanted to register a desideratum, or a duplicate. In volume 5 of the periodical *La Bibliothèque Universelle* [332], for example, \cdot , $\cdot\cdot$, and $\cdot\cdot\cdot$ have been marked against the titles in the *Table des Livres*. In addition to these combinations, single letters (c , v , t are three) have been recorded on the title-pages; we have no idea what these could have signified. Such details may be found wearisome, indicating a mind fussy beyond endurance as well as of infinite meticulousness. So complex was the system of signs in his library that it is difficult to see how Locke himself can always have remembered how to operate it. In fact he often makes mistakes, forgets, gives up.

These signs are listed, with their complications, in the Addendum to this essay, with the rest of that part of the symbol system recovered from the proportion of the library we have been able to find and inspect. They are not the only ones which appear on Locke's title-pages. In fact it is possible that he had a whole further code of symbols written there, a code from which we have only been able to recover this hypothetical system in fragments. The single letters c , v , t , may belong to it but it will be seen from our Addendum that it was mainly a mixture of letters, figures, minus and plus signs, with the Greek letter epsilon, and so on, all very shadowy to us and perhaps not a system at all since it is possible that some of the

signs were placed on the titles by other owners of the books. But they are characteristically Lockeian in their form, and in their inconspicuousness. They are not exclusively confined to the titles any more than are the signs for quality and for second copies.

The last and most interesting of all the symbols always appears in the same place in a book, and like the rest of them must have meant something significant to Locke, in this case it might be supposed something very important. After the word *FINIS* or *FIN* in 36 of the 870 of Locke's books we have been able to examine so far, appears the same peculiar sign (see Plate 6) which authenticates his signature on financial documents. It seems to have been used for this last purpose because it was such a difficult thing to write, a clumsy forgery would proclaim itself. It must be supposed that Locke had a purpose in selecting books for treatment so individualistic, and some of the titles concerned seem to imply that this purpose was rather a special one.

But, unfortunately, the evidence cannot all be said to point one way. The full list of the 36 titles so far known to bear Locke's secret sign, as we have perhaps foolishly called it—paraph—would be a better word—illustrates the difficulty of unravelling his symbol system fully. This list is found in the second appendix to our book. The presence of five works by Boyle might possibly mean something, alongside of the works by Bacon, Harvey, and Newton; certainly there is a strong flavour of the medical and scientific among the titles, with Seneca on the ear, nose, and throat and Helmont's book on the beginnings of medicine, to intensify it. But also present there are Descartes' *Works*, a travel book, and Locke's own book on Government in French. One volume, Seneca's *Tragedies* [2614], a schoolbook, also bears the sign \cdot on the title-page with the date 2nd August 1650, inscribed when he was only eighteen. This piece of evidence shows that the symbol system was developed very early, and the occurrence of the secret sign at the end of another book which may not have been Locke's at all, but his father's, suggests that the paraph and perhaps the whole symbol system was taken over from his family.¹ No one can yet say what was meant by the paraph, except that any book bearing it was certainly in the possession at one time of Locke or of his family, and that it was singled out for particular attention.

¹ This work is in the possession of Sir Geoffrey Keynes: Peter Heylyn's *Frame painted to the Life*, 1656, see No. 3108 in *Bibliotheca Bibliographica: a Catalogue of the Library formed by Geoffrey Keynes*, London, 1964. It has the paraph at *FINIS*, but seems, nevertheless, never to have belonged to John Locke even though we have included it in our catalogue [1446]. It came from the library of the Strachey family which lived in the village next to the one where Locke spent his boyhood. John Strachey of that family and of Locke's age was a particular friend. The book was either

marked by Locke's father, John Locke senior, whose signature seems to be the one on the title, and subsequently found its way to the Strachey's, or was read by John Locke junior whilst the Strachey's owned it. In the latter case the sign would seem to signify only that the book had been read, which would, after all, fit all cases. It is natural that elaborate speculation should grow up round a little puzzle like this, and for this reason we have dealt with it at length. I should like to withdraw the earlier, incautious statements about the sign made in *The Times Literary Supplement* in December 1957.

Here, at last, we reach the end of the markings on Locke's books. It might be as well to remind anyone who examines a volume which he thinks belonged to Locke of what he should look for. On the spine he may find remains of the spine labels, bearing the press-mark: inside the front cover the signature, the press-mark, very occasionally a donation record, and if the book was published before 1698 nearly always the letters *b*, *bc*, or *c*.¹ On the title-page the most obvious sign and the most reliable would be the underlining of the last two digits of the date of publication, though this is not quite invariable, and the indications of quality or of duplication would be found far less often; on page 11 (9, 13, or sig. B1) the price digits should be sought for in the lower margin; on the last page, or the last pages if the volume contains several works, the pagination should show overlining and very occasionally the paraph will appear; inside the back cover there may be a page list in ink or in pencil.

A book marked fully like this would have been at Otes in the early 1690's; if it had been there only in the later 1690's its press-mark would have a letter added to the figures; in those arrivals after 1697 no *b*, *bc*, or *c* would be found inside the front cover. Books which went out of Locke's possession in earlier years would have far less and less regular marking—some of them perhaps not marked in any way. But the overlining and underlining would probably be present, with sometimes the author's name.² A spine label giving author and a digit, indicating size, might also be present as in 2159³. These signs are not unusually found in Otes books which had been with Locke before 1683, and occasionally the two figure press-marks there can be seen to have been converted from the one-figure marks which we believe characterized the books in Christ Church in 1681.

V. EDITING LOCKE'S MASTER CATALOGUE FOR PUBLICATION

The interleaved Hyde, Locke's master catalogue as it has been called, has already been generally described but its constitution and the methods used in making it up must be examined rather more closely in order to make it clear what we have done in the catalogue which follows. What we publish here as a list of Locke's library is, in fact, an attempt to

¹ We are fairly certain that these letters represent a check of the books against the catalogues, made in about 1697, as stated on page 32. No later work yet found shows any of these letters, which most commonly occur together as *bc*, though a solitary *b* or *c* is found often enough not to be merely accidental (even *b bc* occurs) and some multi-volume works have different letters in different volumes. The single letters seem to mean that at the time of the check the title was not registered in one or other of the catalogues

and that this omission would have to be repaired. When it was (and some *bc*'s are obviously composed of letters written at different times) no sign in a catalogue would be left to show the original purpose of the checkmark, though failure to complete the *bc* would leave the solitary letter.

² Some books bear inside the front cover a codified statement of the pagination (overlined) and the last two digits of the date (underlined).

reproduce Hyde for the modern reader, who is invited to find his way through Locke's books with the owner's own guide in his hand.

Suitably modified, of course, and made plain to the user. For the most remarkable thing about the way Locke chose to enter up his holdings is that he succeeded in concealing the fact that he himself had written any books other than the *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, the work on *Education*, and the works on *Money*. The *Reasonableness of Christianity* and its two *Vindications*, the *Letters on Toleration* and, above all, the *Two Treatises of Government* were treated in his catalogues as if he no more knew who wrote them than he did most of the authors of other anonymous works which he possessed. His works on *Christianity* were entered under *Christianity*, not under *Locke*, those on *Toleration* under *Toleration*, that on *Government*, under *Government*, and also under *Politia*. Even the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* appears under *Carolina* and is given no attribution. This attitude was already present before the move to Otes, for Locke listed his own *Epistola de Tolerantia* of 1689 in the *Adversaria Physica* catalogue under the heading *Papola* (i.e. *Pacis amico*, *Persecutionis osore*, Joanne Lockio Anglo). In this case, as we have said, he seems to be betraying an anxiety to keep the facts about the books he published not simply from his critics or his friends, but even from himself.

Hyde, then, is of no use to the scholar who hopes to discover exactly what Locke had a hand in and what he did not. If he is anxious to know whether Locke was responsible for all or part of Churchill's *Voyages*, or whether he actually wrote *A Common-Place Book to the Holy Bible*, he will have to be content with the knowledge that these works were in the library, but catalogued under their titles [3118 and 821].

Still, the headings under which Locke catalogued books may be unexpectedly interesting to those not directly concerned with him at all. As far as we know, the *Apology for the Remonstrants*, published in 1629, has never been attributed to Hugo Grotius, but Locke puts it under that name [1333], and Locke was in a good position to decide since he had lived amongst the Remonstrant community in Holland. We can be even more certain that his closest friend when he was in exile, Jean Le Clerc, was in fact the author of *De l'état de l'homme après le péché* [766] and *Avis sur le tableau du socinianisme* [757], not Le Cène and Jaquelot. Locke must have been quite confident that it was right to put them with Le Clerc's works in Hyde, and to credit Henry Martin rather than Sir Dudley North, with *Considerations upon the East India Trade* [1922].⁴ As a Commissioner of Trade, he must have known both men.

⁴ Other attributions which have Locke's authority are A. Hazen for *Sentiments chrestiens* [1399] and J. Maiboe for *Letters to a Sick Friend* [1911], both previously of unknown

authorship. On this book see notes by D. G. Eplin in *The Book Collector*, ix, 1960 and by John Harrison in the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, xix, 1964.

Perhaps we might have expected to learn more from a catalogue so enormous and so painfully maintained by a man so well informed. Still, the very fact that such a scholar wrote out so many titles under headings of his own choice is of historical importance, and Locke's headings have been retained. It seems valuable, for example, to reproduce his heading PRINTING together with the four titles which he wrote beneath it, since he had so much to do with the freeing of the press in England. It is of interest, too, that the catalogue of a man who played a large part in bringing about the Great Recoinage of 1695 to 1696, should list under MONEY only eight titles, the first of them one of his own works, though typically not registered as his. COIN, however, heads a list of seven others. Naturally, most of Locke's headings are not subject headings, but simply names of authors or catchwords for anonymous tracts. They are reproduced here in accordance with our editorial principle, to present Locke's own catalogue, with additions but with the smallest practicable modification. In fact, in editing Locke's Hyde we have extended it to include the titles of other books he owned but never entered there.

The extra notations which Locke made in the document have been omitted here. Records of the price of books he never in fact acquired, judgements on the comparative qualities of editions and perhaps their content, references to reviews, all of course indicated in Locke's own symbol system, go beyond the scope of the present work. The interleaf illustrated in Plate 10 shows how the entries appear in the original, Locke's holdings alternating with this other material, though this effect has been lost in our volume. We have recorded the occasions when Locke struck through an entry because he made a present of the volume, struck it through and put the initials of the beneficiary in the margin. Forty-four such gifts are recorded in Hyde. The letters D.F.C.M. appear beside seven of the deleted titles, nearly all of them editions of the classics: these were obviously presents made in Locke's lifetime to Francis Cudworth Masham. Damaris Masham was given six books, Pierre Coste eight, all by Socinus [2704-11] and lesser numbers were given to such friends as Anthony Collins and Edward Clarke. Out of nearly 3,000 entered in the catalogue, less than fifty were given away, and these carefully registered: this is typical of Locke and typical, though perhaps a little generous, of the genuine book-collector.

One further gift from Locke to a friend is known to us, this time from an inscription inside the book itself. The title does not appear in Hyde but it was recorded in the list he made out in his London lodging before he moved to Otes, and was perhaps given to him by its author in the 1670s and kept in the city. *Lectiones Geometricae*, by Isaac Barrow, was presented by Locke in his turn in 1693 to Maurice Ashley Cooper, brother of the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury. Half a century or more after this the volume was bought by that

marvellously eccentric, republican Maecenas, Thomas Hollis, and in 1767 donated by him, along with his many other benefactions, to the struggling little library of Harvard College, where it is still to be seen complete with his informative inscription. Through the two men are known to have met in 1692, this is the only evidence that Locke was at all close to Isaac Barrow, Newton's predecessor and patron, and so is an important link with Newton himself before the crucial year 1689. This is an illustration of how much literary history can sometimes be learnt from the descent of items out of Locke's collection, and it is a pity that our present book cannot contain anything but a fraction of such information.

The fact that Barrow's book was never part of the library at Otes is indicated by the letter following the serial number, 212*. All entries in Hyde have been given serial numbers in this way, and those with letters added are titles Locke is recorded to have owned but which have had to be recovered from other sources than Hyde. As far as possible, Hyde entries have been reproduced just as they appear in the document, but more liberty has been taken with those on the printed pages than with those in manuscript on the interleaves. Cross-references have been added where necessary in order to make it possible to find out from the appropriate alphabetical place whether a particular title was present in the library. The very first page of our catalogue will do to explain what has been done.

The first entry of all:

AARSSENS, Frans van, *Heer van Sommelsdijck. Voyage d'Espagne . . . 1666. See 1459.*

is merely one of our own cross-references. It informs the user that Locke had this book and catalogued it under a heading of his own, in this case Spain, so that it will be found at number 1459 under *Hispania*, along with Thomas Scarlett's book on that country and its English refugees published in 1595, and with the Countess D'Aulnoy's three-volume travel book published in 1691. It so happens that Aarsens was also catalogued under *Voyage*, and this is made clear under the main entry at *Hispania*; duplicate entries of this sort are fairly common in Hyde. We have supplied the author for this item which was anonymous to Locke.

Following Aarsens comes:

1. ABBADIE [Jacques]. [Traité] De la verité de la religion Chrétienne premiere partie 8° Rotterd: [16]84. 517 Seconde partie. 4TB . . . f 2-18 [i.e. 2 florins 18 stuivers].

the first of the numerical series. It presents a manuscript entry recorded by Locke on the first interleaf of Hyde which appears thus in the original:

ABBADIE
1. De la verité de la religion Chrétienne premiere partie 8° Rotterd: 84. 517 Seconde partie. 418 . . . f 2-18.

By additions in square brackets, giving the Christian name of the author, the first word of his title, the 16 of the year of publication we have made Locke's entry more intelligible and we have explained, in square brackets, again, that f 2-18 means the price paid. But we have left his underlining of the last two digits of the date and his overlining of the pagination.¹ The best edition sign, 16, has also been allowed to speak for itself and the *l* in the margin has been omitted altogether from all such entries on the interleaf.

The next entry is of a non-Hyde book, the authority for Locke's having owned it being of a different sort and the implication being that it may never have stood in the library at Ottes. It runs:

1^a. ABBATIUS, Baldus Angelus. De admirabili viperæ natura . . . 12^o, Hagæ Comitum, 1660.

The indication that the title does not appear in Hyde consists simply in the letter *a* coming after the figure 1. It appears in fact in the Masham part of the list drawn up in 1704 when the library was divided, but the form of that entry has not been preserved here and the book has been catalogued in the modern fashion. The sources of the 685 non-Hyde entries will be found in Appendix III.

The next two entries run thus:

2. ABBONDANTI [Antonino]. [Il breuiario delle] guerre de paesi bassi 12^o Colon 91 [sic for 1641]. 2 [i.e. price].

2^a. ABBOT, George. A briefe description of the whole world . . . 12^o, London, 1635.
Folger Shakespeare Library. Title-page signed John Locke above 1-4, anno: 1649.

and are somewhat similar to numbers 1 and 1^a. 2. ABBONDANTI is, in fact, exactly the same as 1. ABBADIE, except that we have corrected Locke in a slip over the date of publication (1691 for 1641), and this very rarely has to be done. It so happens, that neither ABBADIE nor ABBONDANTI ever received a press-mark. Number 2^a ABBOT has no press-mark either. Though like 1^a ABBATIUS a non-Hyde entry, it has been recovered from its actual survival in the Folger Library at Washington: it appears on no list of books made by Locke or for him. Again, the form of cataloguing is the modern one, and the last two lines are ours, a comment on the entry rather than a part of it.

Both of the succeeding entries illustrate the method we have had to adopt when it became impossible to present a title in the form in which it was written into Hyde simply by inserting corrections and expansions in square brackets.

3. Abby lands restitutions 73 R 13.

The papacy of Paul the Fourth. Or, The restitution of Abby lands and impropriations . . . [Taken from Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, Book 5.] 4^o, London, 1673.

¹ Where Locke indicates the sixteenth century by underlining three digits of the publication date we have supplied the 1, as in no. 507.

4. ABDICATION price P 11.
The price of abdication 4^o, London, 1693.

No modern cataloguer could make anything of the original entry for 3

L. Abby lands restitutions 73 R 13

which is all that appears in the manuscript on the second interleaf of Hyde, even if he knows that the 73 (not underlined, as it should be) stood for 1673 and that R 13 is a press-mark, a pamphlet press-mark the form of which we have yet to consider. The original entry for 4, which comes at the top of the second column on the second interleaf

Abdication price P 11 L

is equally useless and here even the date of publication is missing. These entries are, unfortunately, typical of the amanuensis, who was responsible for both of them, although he inserted *L* in the appropriate margin for each entry.

The method we have adopted is to print the original entries of this sort, with the omission of the *L*'s, and then add the usual and more recognizable version in small type, with explanations in brackets where necessary. In this way the writing in Hyde is preserved, but the book can be satisfactorily identified. Sometimes, naturally, we have had to confess defeat: see, for example, numbers 727, 816, 989, and 2382. In these cases we could only print the original offending entries with the words *Not identified*. But this has not happened very often, and we have been surprised how nearly complete is our knowledge of those books Locke possessed but which the Bodleian did not, in 1674, and which were, therefore, entered on the interleaves of Hyde, sometimes so sketchily.

After number 4 comes a cross-reference:

Ambréti (L) de bons fruits . . . [By J. Medet.] 1675. See 1196.

exactly similar to the first item in the catalogue, and after that, number 5 in the list, the first example of a title which is present in the printed part of Hyde.

5. ABULPHARAGIUS, Gregorius. Historia compendiosa dynastiarum . . . Arabice edita, & Latine versa, ab E. Pocockio. 3 pts. 4^o. Oxoniae, 1663.
4. Lo: 62. 2^a L.

The changes we have made will be obvious from comparison with what is to be found on page 4 of Hyde's printed catalogue, under the heading Gregorius ABULPHARAGIUS

Historia Dynastiarum Arabicæ, cum Versione & Appendice D. Edw. Pocockii. Oxon. 1663 4^o A. 2. An. BS. 812 L

Here our entry follows the wording of the book, and since it was not Locke or his agent who originally wrote it out we have shown no respect for the original cataloguing. We have,

of course, left out the Bodleian press-mark (A. 2. Art. BS.) but in this case and for all entries taken from the printed side of Hyde we have reproduced Locke's marginal *L*, together with everything else he added. This has been done as an addition to the entry on a line of its own and the explanation of what appears there is as follows.

The initial 4 is not Locke's addition, but the page number of the printed Hyde on which the entry appears. Lo: indicates that what follows is in manuscript in the original, Locke's manuscript: if it had been one of his own writing assistants the letters Ma would appear (as in no. 15). The 62 shows that he underlined the two final digits of the printed date of publication. The two-tier figure $\frac{3}{4}$ followed by the letter *a* is the press-mark. Though this is a rather spare entry, it does inform us of the presumption that the book, though published in 1663, was likely to have been acquired by Locke in the 1690's after about 1695 (see above, page 36). If Locke had inserted the pagination overlined along with the rest of his additions, as he quite often did, then this would, of course, be reproduced, as it is for number 7 in the next column. If the book had survived and we had been able to examine it, as in the case of number 210, then a comment line would succeed the addition, giving the present whereabouts, with such further details as the presence of a page list.

The remaining entries in the first column of the first page of the catalogue provide further examples of the practices we have described for their predecessors.

6. ACARETE [du Biscay]. An account of a voyage up the River de la Plata and thence overland to Peru 8° Lon. [16]98. p. 79. $\frac{3}{4}$ a. Forms pt. of 83°.

ACCADEMIA DELLA CRUSCA. See CRUSCA.

ACCOUNT

6*. An account of the progress of the reformation of manners . . . In a letter to a friend . . . 4°, London, 1701.

Yale.

They add a detail or two of their own. Number 6 is an instance of a title which Locke has catalogued separately, though it was published along with other works: our practice in these cases is described on page 50. The next entry is a cross-reference of our own, inserted to make it easier to recover the work catalogued by Locke under CRUSCA. The word ACCOUNT printed on its own line before the final item, is another heading reference of our own, bringing together all anonymous works beginning with that word but catalogued by Locke under general headings rather than under the more usual first-word entry, as well as other anonymous works which we have found from sources other than Hyde. Number 6* is an example of this last type of entry, and it comes from a rather special source, a volume of pamphlets in the Yale University Library which will have to be described later on. The

entries in this initial column have fortunately covered nearly all the ground, though one rare sign has yet to be mentioned. This is Locke's shorthand for the word *price*, q which appears, for example, in number 59.

Such has, then, been our general procedure in editing Locke's Hyde for the reader. We have tried to be flexible in applying our rules and we have tried to prevent the obscurities of the original from getting in the way of convenient consultation. Occasionally, for example, we have reproduced two entries from Hyde for one title, where two are present there, as in number 37. Occasional references will be found in the catalogue to indicate the manuscript lists other than Hyde shown in Appendix III, as in number 25. We have gathered together in an Addendum to the present essay a complete list of the conventions used in our catalogue as well as of the signs used by Locke in his library documents and on his books.

It has been assumed that there will be those who are interested in library practice as well as in the content of books, in Locke's symbol system as well as in his holdings on particular subjects. As can well be imagined, many points of fine detail have had to be decided in carrying out the plan. Though Locke was a methodical librarian, even his own entries show irregularity, and his assistants often betray carelessness and even incomprehension. Still most of the peculiarities come from the very different usages of a distant generation, and from the particular form of the Hyde catalogue, printed entries alternating with manuscript additions.

Spelling and accents, particularly in French, appear here as Locke wrote them but in modern form in the case of printed Hyde entries. Christian names have been supplied for authors, though we have let some of Locke's abbreviations speak for themselves (e.g. nãa for natura in entry 37). It has been mentioned already that we have added a number of cross-references. These are of three general types. First, those relating author and subject main headings. Hyde, for example, lists the works of Descartes under CARTESIUS, whilst Locke lists them under CARTES; we have cross-referenced the three forms of the name. Some works on his own country are placed by Locke under ANGLIA, others under ENGLAND, and these have been cross-referenced too. Second, those concerning authorship. Where an author was unknown to Locke but is known to us, a reference has been put under the author's name; it informs the reader of the heading under which Locke placed the book. Where a work remains anonymous today a similar reference has been made out for the first word of the title (not an article). Third, those relating names in the titles of books and tracts. Where a work was written to criticize or defend another man, he is given an entry. Our own serial numbers have been used to indicate the entries in order to keep the cross-references brief and precise.

There are still other connexions between the entries to be mentioned. Locke catalogued 241 individual titles without mentioning the fact that they were all part of larger works; we have stated that each such title 'Forms part of' the relevant volume. This explains why there are 3,197 numbered entries in our catalogue though there are only 2,956 titles of actual works in Hyde. On the other hand, Locke sometimes repeated entries under different headings: 90 works appear under two headings and 3 under three (see entry 50). Only one serial number has been allotted to these books, though we have reproduced all the entries, giving the serial number at the position where it is first (alphabetically first) recorded, and then using the same number in square brackets when it appears again later in the catalogue (see the heading *ARBORESCENTES*). Ownership of two copies is sometimes marked by Locke as *ars* in his entry, and this word is retained. More interesting, perhaps, are some of the effects of his symbol system.

Locke's underlining the final two digits of the date-line on the titles of his books, and also in his catalogue entries, has been described and we have seen in our examples how this practice has been reproduced here. Locke's attachment to his own ingenious system may be seen in number 1552, a medical tract published in 1680 and with 80 pages. His Hyde entry reads:-

Quædam Per

L. De generis medicorum instituti ratione 12^o Am 80

This is one of the titles which, like *ASSAIIUS* and *ABBONDANTI*, has no press-mark though it was acquired in Holland, and must have been available at Otes since it appears in both the shorter catalogues as well as in Hyde. There are about 150 such titles without press-marks and their presence in all three catalogues is the only way of telling that they ever stood at Otes: some of them, no doubt, were bound up with other works in volumes which did have press-marks. But there are also the 685 other titles, comprising 737 volumes of which 52 are known to be pamphlets, which do not appear in Hyde at all though they were, at some time, part and parcel of his library. Some of these were books which, as we have seen, he had lost or given away: about 70 had been left in Holland. Some of them are known never to have left his London lodgings, so that they simply were not present at Otes when he did his shelving, cataloguing, marking, and checking. It seems to us that circumstances such as these sufficiently account for the incompleteness of Hyde, but it has to be confessed that there is evidence which might raise the possibility that not only Hyde but all our sources may be incomplete, that what we present here cannot finally be called the whole of the library of John Locke. This evidence comes from a volume of pamphlets in the library of Yale University and from some 30 pamphlets in the Goldsmiths' Library of

the University of London, and we must now turn our attention to Locke's holdings of pamphlets generally and his methods of cataloguing and keeping them.

It seems likely, to begin with, that up until the 1690's Locke concerned himself little with pamphlet literature as a librarian, though he certainly bought numbers of them from time to time, especially political pamphlets during the Exclusion Crisis and the revolutionary years 1689-90. Perhaps he kept these titles stowed away, but did not add them to his library lists,¹ and perhaps less important pamphlets were simply thrown away. At some time after he had set up his books at Otes (certainly before 1695) he decided to catalogue his pamphlets, or rather to give them to Brownover to catalogue. We do not know whether he had already got them neatly stored in boxes, though this seems likely, or whether the system of press-marks for pamphlets and the storage system were decided upon at the same time. A pamphlet, let it be said, was usually a publication of some 50 pages or less, bought unbound and judged by Locke not to merit binding.

The pamphlet press-mark, as may be remembered from the examples from the early pages of Hyde, consisted of an initial capital letter, followed by a number, and followed in some instances by a letter, often a Greek letter. These alphabetical suffixes seem to parallel those added in later years to the two-tier number press-marks for bound books, but it is not clear that they too, can be regarded as marks of late acquisition. Here is a table of the range of pamphlet press-marks.

TABLE 6

Locke's Pamphlet Press-Marks

A1-A30.	65 pamphlets	L1-L41.	44 pamphlets
C1-C61.	65 "	M1-M32.	34 "
E1-E49.	50 "	N1-N50.	52 "
G1-G52.	53 "	O1-O22.	24 "
H1-H40.	38 "	P1-P25.	32 "
HH1-HH9.	9 "	R1-R41.	40 "
J1-J34.	39 "	T1-T14.	14 "
K1-K46.	47 "		
		Total	606

Classes A, C, E, H, N, and P had some duplicated use of numbers, some alphabetical suffixes and some numbers not used. Classes G, O, and R had some numbers duplicated and others not used; Class L had some numbers duplicated and some alphabetical suffixes;

¹ Pamphlets appear in the book lists of 1689-91 and some in Locke's check-list of works received from Tyrrell in 1691 (MS. Locke f. 17) but not by title in Tyrrell's listing.

They are present in both the supplementary catalogues to Hyde (MS. Locke f. 16 and MS. Locke c. 3).

Classes J, K, and M had some duplication too. The presence of a class with an oddity to mark it, the double H or whatever it is meant to be, is typical of Locke and seems certainly to have been an afterthought, added to accommodate the fairly large numbers acquired in his final years.

The interesting features of the Table are the missing letters of the alphabet and the following questions about his pamphlets bear on the issue of the completeness with which we have catalogued his library. What happened to classes B, D, F, Q, and S?—since Locke had to decide to mint his HH there must have been some reason why these classes cannot have been available. Do these press-marks include all the pamphlets he had? Where, and how, were they stored?

None of these questions can be answered satisfactorily, mainly because very few of his pamphlets have survived so that their markings can be examined and compared with those in the catalogues. There is one at Oxford,¹ the 30 in the Goldsmiths' Library, 41 in the Yale University Library; not more than 70 or so out of the original 600. Now the Yale pamphlets all were once contained in a bound volume, a volume which undoubtedly came from that part of Locke's library which the Kings inherited.² Its contents are puzzling, and have a bearing on nearly all the questions we have raised.

There is a resemblance between the binding of this book and that of those which Locke himself is known to have had bound, and it bears in his hand inside the front cover the press-mark J 29, a pamphlet press-mark it will be seen and one which our shelf list shows was allotted in Hyde to a pamphlet not present in the volume. All of the 41 pamphlets actually in the volume are of the right date (1697–1704) to have been in Locke's possession in his final years, and deal with the appropriate subjects. But only 18 of them are entered in Hyde and only 19 of the 41 bear any marks of Locke's ownership, and not many of them are marked up completely: one of these 19 is absent from any catalogue. What is more disquieting is that the press-marks given to these works in Hyde seem quite unrelated to the J 29 on the cover, and seem also to make nonsense of his pamphlet press-mark system, for they run thus: C 29a, H9, H10, H10a, H13–18a, H28–30, K13, and K32.

If all of these pamphlets were indeed Locke's and if it was he who had them bound up and the volume press-marked in this odd way, then he must have been less systematic a

¹ The Bodleian has Locke's copy of Bagshaw's *The great question concerning things indifferent in religious worship* [1312b]. Though this never appeared in any of his catalogues, its importance to Locke is illustrated by Dr. Philip Abrams in *John Locke: Two Tracts on Government*, Cambridge University Press, 1967. Locke never regarded it as part of his

library of printed books but stored it amongst his manuscripts.

² Yale press-mark Z 105. 121. Unfortunately, four of the items, including the one, exceptionally, with Locke's marginal annotations, have had to be removed for safer keeping, which has meant breaking the original binding.

librarian than perhaps we have implied, and he must have possessed more than he ever marked or registered. He must certainly have kept 22 of these 41 pamphlets lying about for months, some perhaps for years, and finally sent them to the binders unmarked and unregistered. The pamphlets at the Goldsmiths' Library confirm this suspicion to some extent. They also seem to have come from a bound volume: their purchaser in 1896 described several of them in words such as 'John Locke's copy from a volume of his tracts'.¹ Several of these titles, though similarly described by the purchaser, are absent from all Locke's catalogues, and only their provenance, date and subject mark them as ever belonging to Locke.² It is noticeable too that the others, like those at Yale, are only irregularly marked with Lockeian signs, and their press-marks come from several different alphabetical series.

It seems to be established then, that Locke cannot have dealt with all his pamphlet collection, and the stray titles just described may represent quite a number which were in fact in his possession but which he never marked or catalogued. There is evidence that these were not the only items which he neglected. Perhaps a score or so of the titles in the catalogue printed here have had to be attributed to the library on the strength of one characteristic sign, or the presence among the library discovered at Ben Dampff Forest of books registered in Hyde, or in the ancillary lists, in just that title and edition. Sometimes the indication is simply the underlining of the last two digits of the date of publication, sometimes the overlining of the pagination, or a price-mark on page 11, or a press-mark on the spine or inside the cover, or even merely a tiny diacritical mark on the title, like -. Since not much more than a quarter of the books have been surveyed, he may have left behind him at Otes, or in London, a hundred or more items of this kind.

This evidence makes necessary some modification of the claim that what presented here is a list of everything Locke owned at his death, along with those he alienated earlier which we have been able to locate. Nevertheless, the two pamphlet volumes do not, so it seems to us, make it at all likely that a whole block of Locke's pamphlets, with perhaps numbers of books as well, are missing from the evidence surveyed. Though it seems very likely that the Yale volume was bound up for Locke, who supplied an end-paper bearing an irrelevant press-mark, it cannot be proved that Peter King did not have the binding done, in Locke's style. He might have done the same thing for the London collection. The likeliest explanation seems to be that these collections were bound for Locke, as the beginning of a very late change of policy about his pamphlets, or as part of it. Perhaps the presence in both

¹ Note by Foxwell, who assembled the Goldsmiths' Collection, on Vickaris [707], Davanzati [520] &c. Foxwell himself may have broken up the volume.

² *Angliae tutamen* ... 1695 [931], *A letter from a gentleman at St. Germain* ... 1697 [1727¹]. Some queries concerning the disbanding of the army ... 1698 [2716¹] &c.

bundles of thirty titles he had not marked and registered can be put down to the fact that towards the end he found his literary system weighing upon him. He had got behind, but marked and unrecorded goes against all that we have so far told of his library, all that is known of his character.

We have assumed, therefore, that until late in his life at least, Locke did in fact store his pamphlets lower, in boxes presumably, each box labelled after the mid-1690's with one of the series of letters set out above. We can make a more interesting assumption, too, if we wish, though this will only be guesswork, that the other boxes, lettered B, D, F, G, and H, were, perhaps, in use. They may have contained those unbound manuscripts and drafts not bulky to get into the pigeonholes of Locke's desk. Here we may seek for the six in Locke's study of the drafts of the *Essay* which swayed and wobbled all the way from Oakley to Otes in 1691, on the wagons and in the slowly moving river barges, all because it was too bulky for Tyndal to stuff inside his package. The rest of Locke's notebooks bound and unbound, other than the six which stood on his shelves with the printed books, may be sought there too.

Through there were 1,641 titles in Locke's library, that is books which we know he possessed at some time in his life, only 2,556 were entered into Hyde and only 2,803 were given press-marks. Some of these unregistered and partly registered items were not at Otes at all when Locke died, for there were 148 titles at his London lodgings, at Mr. Pawling's. Some of the rest were entered in one or other of the shorter catalogues, but never into Hyde. This is one further little sign that the system was just occasionally too much for its creator. Obviously he did not always put the book first into the great catalogue and then into the little one, but sometimes the other way round. Still more clearly did he sometimes fail to copy what was in the great catalogue into the smaller one, and the other way round. But the discrepancies are small. The system may have been exacting, but it never altogether overburdened Locke. The more one contemplates the energy, the concentration, the efficiency of this ageing scholar at work amongst his books, the more one marvels. This was, after all, not only the most famous but the busiest period of his life, and his business was practical and political as well as literary.

XL DESCENT OF LOCKE'S EGGS

We know what happened when Locke died in 1704. He closed his eyes with his own hands. What follows is a quotation from the letter which mentions this lugubrious action,

written by Damaris Masham's stepdaughter who refers to Damaris as 'mother'. It was addressed to a family reunion three weeks afterwards.¹

You have heard, no doubt, of the death of good Mr. Locke. Ever since his death we have been in a continual hurry, for my mother, not being able to write her thoughts, has been as much as she can, and I generally wrote in her stead. He is extremely respected by everybody. He left Mr. King, his executor, and he left Frank Johnson and half his books. He has given to every servant in the house, and Mrs. I was just for which she thought she must have gone into mourning. He ordered in his will to be buried in the churchyard in a plain wooden coffin without cloth or velvet, which ever he said would be better laid out in clothing for the poor and, therefore, ordered four poor men to have coats, breeches, shoes, stockings and hats.

They did not obey his will about the coffin cloth, but they carried it out with respect to his library. Much of the bustle which went on round Damaris Masham in the month of November 1704 must have been caused by Anthony Collins and Pierre Coste as they laboured with her at the boxes and boxes and boxes of books, pamphlets, and papers.

We can still watch them at it, because they listed the titles as they dealt with them and the document which they drew up is in the Bodleian Library² and can be compared with the shelf-list of the library which we have reconstructed. Whilst Coste sat at the desk and wrote, the other two took up successive handfuls of volumes and read out the titles on the spines, one handful to stay where they were and the next to go away to London to Peter King. There was no selection by subject, size, or value, except that all interleaved books and all manuscripts had to go to Peter King, as we have already seen. Everything of Locke's, except the King moiety and the minor legacies to Collins and others, stayed at Otes, and all he had at Mr. Pawling's came to Otes too. In the Table overleaf the statistics of Locke's library, together with the details of its division, are set out.

Some 1,500 titles seem to be missing from the final division, but all 662 pamphlets must be taken from that total together, very probably, with many other omissions from the lists written out by Coste in his haste. It cannot be far from the truth to suppose that before the end of 1704 the library at Otes was reduced to half of what it had been when Locke died. Eighteen hundred books and pamphlets were carried off to London, and finally found themselves established in the manor house which Sir Peter King bought in the village of Ockham (Ockham Park, as it came to be called), in the county of Surrey. It was from here that the barony of King of Ockham took its name. There they were still, Locke's desk-full of

¹ Letter of Esther Masham, 17 November 1704, printed in A. C. Fraser, *Locke*, 1890, pp. 270-1.

² MS. Locke c. 30. There are separate lists for the King moiety and the Masham moiety, and also receipts signed, where they could be signed, by the servants at Otes for

their legacies. Though we have imagined the process as taking weeks of time—and our own work on lists of Locke's books makes this seem natural—Damaris Masham signed a receipt for her son's moiety on 3 November. The Catalogue numbers of the moiety are set out in Appendix IV.

manuscripts and all, when the 7th Lord King wrote his life of Locke in the 1820's, complete with extracts from the papers. After the 7th Baron's technically minded son inherited the title and became the 1st Earl of Lovelace, they were moved once more, this time to the extraordinary house which that unconventional nobleman redesigned for the family in the neighbouring village of East Horsley. He called it Horsley Towers, and his enthusiasm for the triumphs of Victorian engineering led him to burrow out a tunnel for the driveway to the road, still an eerie surprise to the visitor in a vehicle.

TABLE 7

Statistics of Locke's Library and its Division in 1704

Title	Volumes
From all sources	2,641
Comprising:	4,002 of which 662 were pamphlets.
Titles from Hyde	2,096
Titles from other sources	685
King Manuscript	1,054
Masham Manuscript	1,002
Total recorded in sources in 1704	2,597

Even more remarkable, though perhaps partly explained by the fact that both parties were mathematicians, was the 1st Earl's marriage, to Byron's only child. This accounts for the association of the name Lovelace with the never-ending discussion about what went on between Byron and his bride. Even these wealthy, spacious, eccentric days brought some damage and loss to Locke's books. The 1st Earl's mother came to hate the name of Locke, and it was she, her descendants say, who was responsible for erasing the word from some volumes, and perhaps she was should be blamed for the escape of those titles which were mentioned for sale as from the King-Locke library in the 1740's.² Some scattering of the books also took place between the various family wars, Ashley Combe in Somerset was one, Ben Drachford another. But the King's library was well placed to stand the passage of time, for the family was rich and none of its members bore the name Locke, which

² It is not always possible to gauge from the King-Masham lists how many volumes were included, what and when.

³ See further above, the unmentioned *Scipione*, now in St John's College, Cambridge, for an example of an extract of 'Locke's' from a 1624, but corrected 1627, text at Oak Spring, where the work is rubricated red ink. The text is

perhaps not a great deal of information (from *Scipione*, 1. 1211) and from a manuscript. The text mentioned is recorded in Pt. 3 of *Thorp's Catalogue*, 1862, (Masham MSS. 1211 & 1212). *Scipione's* daughter was a famous mathematician (but her husband, and even of the fact to be interested in computers).

was often given at christenings. The danger was rather from too much attention than too little.¹

But the Earldom of Lovelace and the family of King found the climate of the twentieth century unfavourable indeed. Entails had not been renewed: Ockham, then Horsley Towers, had to go; Locke's books were carted from place to place, from depository to depository. In 1932 some of them were exhibited in honour of the tercentenary of Locke's birth, a celebration perhaps which did more harm to the books than the whole of their previous life. They were sorted by size and prepared for sale, but they were never sold. In December 1951 they were found in the gunroom at Ben Damp Forest in no sort of order, higgledy-piggledy on the temporary shelving, the covers of some of them spattered with whitewash which must have fallen on them whilst they were lying on the floor of a room being decorated, occasionally vellum bindings showing the recent teeth marks of mice. Even then there were 835 of the volumes which had been set aside for the family of King in November 1704, when Damaris Masham, Anthony Collins, and Pierre Coste emptied out Locke's rows and rows of boxes. Almost two-thirds of the King moiety, 62 per cent to be exact, still survived, on the whole in remarkable condition. For all the oddity of Locke's relationship with Oxford, in spite of the burning of books outside the Bodleian, and notwithstanding the Royalist roughs who broke into his rooms at Christ Church, it is appropriate that this surviving part of his collection will one day find a home for ever in the library of his own university.

Scarcely a volume of those which stayed behind for Damaris Masham to look after until her son should claim them will ever stand beside the King Books in the Bodleian Library. Those we know to be extant are scattered all over the world: a few at Christ Church, one at Hertford College, Oxford, three at Trinity College, and a few at King's College, Cambridge; others at Athens, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in New Haven, Connecticut, at Brinkley, near Newmarket in the house of Sir Geoffrey Keynes. The fate of the library at Otes is one of the sadder stories in the history of English letters.

The Masham line became extinct when Samuel, 2nd Lord Masham of Otes died in the manor house, the seat of his honour, on 14 June 1776. At that time most of Locke's books, and most of the books and papers of the other interesting and important people who had lived in the house, must have still been in position. But they had been seriously depleted and disarranged by the events which had happened there since 1704, events which had much to

¹ The 7th Lord King released many volumes, and so removed many of Locke's signatures and marks. The 3rd Earl of Lovelace did the same about fifty years ago, though he sometimes went so far as to remove a signature from

an 'important' volume and stick it in the new binding of an 'important' one (that from 1741 was passed into 1811, for example).

do with the granting of a peerage to the family and the attempt of an extravagant, improvident, unpleasant man to live the fashionable nobleman's life on inadequate means. The 2nd Lord Masham's treatment of the library he inherited was one of the literary scandals of the Hanoverian age.

We must remember that Locke's literary remains, those that did not go to the Kings, were only a part of the literary contents of the manor house. Ralph Cudworth left some or all of his manuscripts to his daughter when he died in 1688, though his books were sold by auction in 1690. Certainly the unpublished second part of his great work, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, went to Otes. Damaris's own documents must have been of considerable interest: her letters from Locke, from Leibniz, from the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, no doubt from many another cleric and philosopher. When she died in Bath in 1708, not four years after Locke, all these things must have remained with her husband and her son. A marriage had taken place the year before which was to add to all this theological, philosophical, and Whig material letters and papers which were political, literary, and Tory. Samuel Masham, younger son and final heir to Sir Francis Masham, married Abigail Hill, relative both of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and of Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, and already well on her way to being the reigning favourite at the Court of Queen Anne.

The extraordinary story of Abigail Masham is a part of English history, the history of politics, court intrigue, diplomacy, and literature in the Augustan age. It is a notable fact that not a single personal paper of hers has ever been seen by historians. All there is is what she wrote herself to other people, and in particular to Swift who so much admired her style. In 1712 her husband was created the first Lord Masham as part of the move to make a majority in the House of Lords favourable to the ending of Marlborough's wars. When, in 1734, she herself was laid in the churchyard at Otes, just round the corner from Locke, the library at Otes must have been enriched by a considerable quantity of her letters and papers, letters of the late Queen Anne, of Harley, Swift, Arbuthnot, Pope, a whole generation of the literati. In 1758 her son Samuel, whom Swift 'hated from a boy', inherited all this along with the rest of the contents of the little baronial seat.

The library there had already attracted the attention of scholars. Francis Cudworth Masham died in 1731, a bachelor who left all his possessions in the house and all his money (Locke's money) to the main line of the family. A little time before he had given permission to Edward Chandler, Bishop of Durham, to publish Ralph Cudworth's *Eternal and Immutability of Morality*, from the manuscript which 'with several other manuscripts, were locked up from the sight of the world'. In 1742 Thomas Birch re-edited the *True Intellectual System* and described the Cudworth manuscripts in detail. Although the new Lord Masham was

already running into debt, and his lands were mortgaged, the library at Otes seems to have been left complete and undisturbed for a year or two after he succeeded. It was not to be so for long:

About the year 1762, when the late Lord Masham married his second lady, his lordship thought proper to remove the useless volumes of ancient learning, part of the library, which had been bequeathed to the family by Mr. Locke, and the manuscripts of Dr. Cudworth, to make room for books of polite amusement. For this purpose he sold a very considerable number to Mr. Robert Davis, then a bookseller in Piccadilly. Mr. Davis was either told, or wisely concluded, that the manuscripts were the productions of Mr. Locke. Not having met with a purchaser in London, he carried them with him to Barnes, when he retired from business. As he was one of the proprietors of the *Commentary on the Bible*, published by Dr. Dodd, he furnished the Doctor with these manuscripts, which served to give an extraordinary élat to that work, and to the *Christian Magazine*, which was published about the same time. The name of Mr. Locke answered the purpose of the proprietors, and the public were unacquainted with the truth of the fact. Mr. Davis, however, who had no more regard for these learned volumes than the right honourable Goth who had expelled them from his library, when he received them again from Dr. Dodd, threw them into his garret, where they were exposed to the rats, and the depredations of his maid.

This story became part of the tittle-tattle of the late eighteenth century, and is quoted here from the *Critical Review* (vol. IV, 1783, pp. 391-2). It would seem to be a fairly reliable account of the first losses from the library at Otes, though it is a little unfair to Dr. Dodd, whose somewhat flamboyant career ended, it will be remembered, in his being executed for forgery. Dodd did not claim that his *Commentary*, 1770, was based to any extent on Locke materials, though he did not seem to recognize that the writings in question were those of Ralph Cudworth. The two interleaved Bibles he mentions, however, may have been Locke's, left at Otes in contravention of the directions in his will. We shall never know how much 'the Right Honourable Goth' got rid of whilst the library was his property, either by sale to Davis or others, or simply by neglect. By the time of his death in 1776, Masham was living on a small annuity from his creditors, who were already in possession of his property.

The house was let, contents and all, for a decade after Masham's death, to the illegitimate children of Edward Wortley Montague, one of whom was coloured. In this anomalous situation the library at Otes was used by the only student of Locke who is known to have had access to it there. This was Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, whose edition of Locke's works was published in 1777. In that year Law purchased as Locke's the manuscripts out of the garret at Barnes, and when he found that they were Cudworth's, arranged that the British Museum should purchase them instead. They are there to this day.

Lord Masham's great creditor had been Robert Palmer of Bloomsbury, land agent to the Duke of Bedford, and owner of an estate at Holme Park, Sonning, Berkshire, which he decided to make the seat of his family. It is impossible now to say when the contents of the

library at Otes were moved from the decaying mansion house, which was uninhabited by the end of the eighteenth century, to Holme Park, and how much they had suffered from the years of tenancy and neglect. That the Palmers did house the books and regarded them as possessions of importance can be shown from the fact that some of Locke's books now bear the book-plates both of Robert and of Richard Palmer, of Holme Park.¹ We next hear of these Locke relics after an interval of two generations and more. Between 1874 and 1879 Holme Park belonged to Miss Suzanna Palmer and it was during these years that two Locke scholars had access to them. They were Fox Bourne, who wrote the standard Victorian biography of Locke in 1876, and A. C. Fraser, editor of the *Essay*, and author of a short study published in 1890. Both lament the absence of 'too many treasures, irretrievably lost', but Fraser states that 'at her death in 1879 Miss Palmer was in possession of the share of Locke's books and other possessions that had been left to Francis Masham'.

In 1880 a distant cousin, the Rev. Henry Golding, who became Golding Palmer, succeeded at Holme Park and a Hodgson's catalogue of 1883 records the sale on 29, 30, and 31 May of the following: 'Miscellaneous books, including the library of a clergyman. Many of the books were formerly in the possession of John Locke, the philosopher, and contain his autograph.' One of these books was the copy of Locke's *Essay* which he presented to Damaris Masham,² and another the French translation which he himself had corrected. Not all the books were listed by title but it seems very unlikely that they were more than part of those which Miss Palmer had owned. It was presumably this sale which caused Fraser to say, in 1890, that the Locke Collection 'had been dispersed'.

We know that Golding Palmer must have had some items left, because, a Trinity man, he was loyal and responsible enough to present Locke's copies of Newton's *Opticks* and *Principia* to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in December 1894. Mrs. M. G. M. Williams, of Sonning, spent some of her childhood at Holme Park with the Golding Palmers; Mrs. Palmer was her aunt. There is, therefore, someone who in 1964 still remembers that Locke's chair was in the butler's bedroom, and who sat in rooms that contained books from the Masham moiety of his library. She recalls when the chair, worm-eaten, finally fell to pieces, and remembers a picture of a white horse, always called Locke's horse. But she never heard the name of Masham mentioned at Holme Park.

¹ Robert Palmer, Masham's creditor, died in 1787 and was succeeded by Richard who died in 1806. Locke's *Claudius* in the Elzevir edition of 1665 [738], now in the library of Hertford College, Oxford, bears the book-plate of both Robert and Richard: his copy of Gregory's *Astronomiae physicae & geometricae elementa* [1313], at Trinity

College, Cambridge, and Bishop Jeremy Taylor's *Discourses* [2842], at Oak Spring, have Richard Palmer's book-plate too.






² This volume came on to the market in February 1968 and is now at Oak Spring.

After her husband died in about 1898, Mrs. Golding Palmer removed to a large house in Kensington, and took some of the contents of Holme Park with her. On this removal it is certain that a great deal of the remnant of the contents of Otes was lost for ever. A catalogue made at the time records numbers of titles which may have been Locke's, and one which certainly was [3111]. Even the house in Kensington still contained some likely items when its furnishings were sold in 1916 by Messrs. A. & C. Barber & Co. of Windsor. The detritus of books and papers in the basement not entered in the sale were apparently bought to clear away by Messrs. Bumpus. This is the last trace we have found of the library at Otes and of the Masham moiety of Locke's books. It is not even possible to confirm the identity of the picture in the National Portrait Gallery, supposed to be that of Abigail, Lady Masham, which was acquired in 1908 from a firm now out of business, and with an unknown history. We shall never now be sure what this remarkable woman looked like. We shall certainly never set our eyes on more than a score or two of the books from the Masham moiety of the library of John Locke.

ADDENDUM

SIGNS AND CONVENTIONS

1. THOSE USED BY LOCKE

	Where discussed or explained
<i>A. Markings &c. on his Books.</i>	Page
<i>Spine-labels</i> , pasted on to calf-bound books and displaying press-marks and sometimes authors and titles; these details are written direct on to the spines of vellum books.	32 (plate 5)
<i>Underlining of Date of Publication</i> , last two digits in the case of those published 1600-99, and 1700-4; last three digits for earlier ones.	33 (plate 6)
<i>Overlining of Final Page Numbers.</i>	33 (plate 6)
<i>Price on Page 11</i> , written in bottom margin; generally on this page, but sometimes on pages 9, 13, 15 &c. and often on the initial leaf of second gathering whatever its pagination.	34 (plate 7)
<i>Signature inside Front Cover</i> , nearly always at the top of this space, but occasionally elsewhere, even on title-page.	33 (plate 6)
<i>Press-mark</i> , on spine-labels (see above) and also inside front cover generally preceding signature; in two-tier number form in the case of bound books, and in letter-number form in the case of pamphlets; often found with alphabetical suffixes, single letters early in alphabet.	34, 37, 51-52 (plates 5-6)
<i>Letter b, Letter c, or Letters bc</i> , inside front cover, over or near signature; check-mark put into the books in or about 1697, and absent from all those subsequently acquired.	32, 42 (plate 6)
<i>Paraph, or Secret Sign</i>  (where present), invariably at the end of the text; list of books so marked is given in Appendix II A.	41 (plate 6)
<i>Page List</i> , (where present), always written inside back cover; list of books with page lists is given in Appendix II C.	38-39
<i>Signs of Quality</i> (where present), of the following forms:    sometimes combined with letters (see below); usually on title-page, but sometimes elsewhere.	40 (plate 9)
<i>Signs of Duplication</i> , (where present), of the following form:  sometimes combined with letters (see below); usually on title-page, but sometimes elsewhere.	40 (plate 9)

Other Signs, on Title-pages, (where present), though occasionally appearing elsewhere; of unknown or uncertain significance; the following is a list of those so far recorded:

1. *Extensions of Quality Signs and Duplicate Signs.*

e- (3059) -b (1312 and 3008) †-b (1944) b-t (1946) Å (1426) b-v (762) b- (170, &c.) -t (314) -v (1284) -bt (172 and 1870) bv- (83, &c.) b-v (196).

2. *Other Signs.*

a (514)
b (1755, &c.)
c (300, &c.)

} Often indicate order of works in volumes containing more than one title bound together.

a (175) $\frac{a}{f}$ (2797) d (1117)
b (175) $\frac{a}{f}$ (2797) b (1117)

e (304, &c.) $\frac{f}{h}$ (1593) H-5 (860)

H₉-O+ (1336) L (1556) O.Ti- (1772)

t (588, &c.) v (1082^a, &c.) v $\frac{v}{b}$ (2895)

y (549) $\frac{h}{o}$ (1205).

B. *Signs and Conventions in Locke's Catalogues &c.*

Two-tier Numbers, press-marks for bound books (see above).

Letter-number Combinations, press-marks for pamphlets (see above).

Underlined two-Digit (or three-Digit) Numbers, indicating date of publication (see above).

Overlined Numbers, indicating pagination of a book (see above).

(N.B. The entries in Hyde sometimes have the date digits overlined and the pagination underlined, in error.)

Fractional numerical Expression, a reference convention made up of underlined date-digits and overlined pagination written in combination.

Letter L or l, used by Locke to mark titles owned by him which were also present in the printed Bodleian Catalogue.

Signs of Quality and of Duplication, the same as those appearing on the books (see above).

Bis, alternative sign for duplication.

f 3-15, &c, price in Dutch currency.

Abbreviations.

Nāā = natura. Opa = opera. p = per (Latin) or par (French).

Where explained
or discussed
Page
40-41
(plate 9)

34-37
(plates 3, 4, 10)
51-52
48
(plates 3, 4, 10)

33-34, 37

30-31
(plates 3, 4, 10)

45-46 (plate 9)

45

Where explained
or discussed
Page
49

g Locke's shorthand sign for price, reproduced here where present in Hyde.

2. THOSE USED BY THE EDITORS IN REPRODUCING LOCKE'S MASTER CATALOGUE

Hyde, name given to Locke's master catalogue.

Serial numbers, allotted to each title in the library; followed by a letter when the title is absent from Hyde.

Initial Figure on a later Line of some Entries, indicates the page of Hyde on which the title of the work appears; only given for titles appearing on printed pages of Hyde.

Square Brackets, used to indicate material inserted to make entries more intelligible.

Lo, indicates Locke's own manuscript additions to entries reproduced from the printed pages of Hyde.

Ma, indicates the hand of an amanuensis.

Oak Spring, the library of Mr. Paul Mellon, where the remains of the King moiety of Locke's books are now housed (1964); they will finally go to the Bodleian Library.

N.B. All the signs and conventions used by Locke in his catalogues have been reproduced by the editors and used of course in Locke's sense. We have recorded the presence of page lists, the paraph and exceptional markings on the books themselves, where we have been able to inspect them. Other signs (prices on page 11, signs of quality and duplication, &c.) have not been recorded where found on the actual books, but they have been where they are found in Hyde.

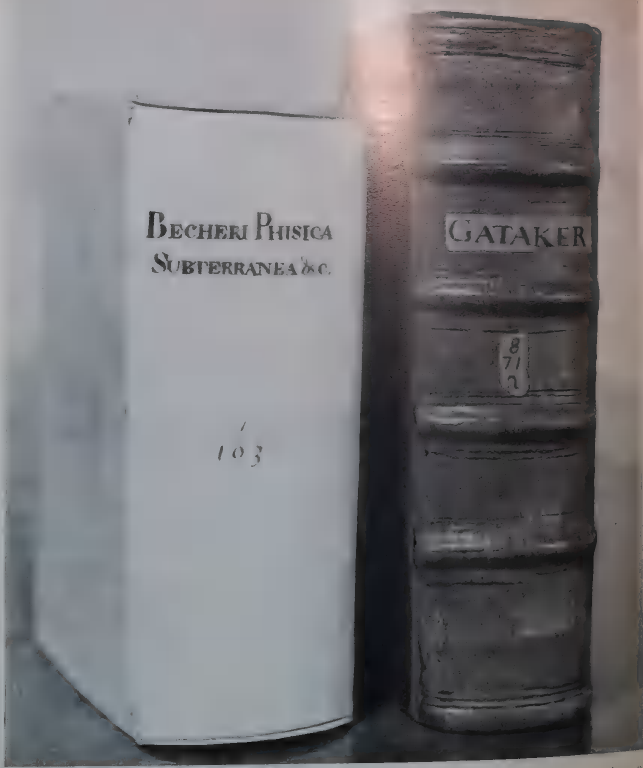
10 &c.

[Faint handwritten notes, mostly illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side.]

Boys
-maggie in the 00. 100.

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A vellum and a calf binding from the library, illustrating press-marks. The volumes are numbers 249 and 1218

D U GOUVERNEMENT CIVIL,

On traite de l'Origine, des
temens, de la Nature,
du Pouvoir, & des Fins
des Sociétez Poli-
tiques.

Traduit de l'Anglois.



A AMSTERDAM,
Chez ABRAHAM WOLFGANG,
prés de la Bourfe.
MDC XCL

Le Gouvernement Civil. 321
la Puissance Législative, & a voulu que
le Pouvoir Suprême résidât dans une
seule Personne, ou dans une Assemblée,
pour un certain temps seulement; ou
bien, si ceux qui sont continués en au-
torité, ont, par leur mauvaise condui-
te, perdu leur droit & leur pouvoir: et
quand les Conducteurs ont perdu ainsi
leur pouvoir & leur droit; ou que le
temps déterminé a fini; le Pouvoir Su-
prême retourne à la Société, & le Peu-
ple a droit d'agir en qualité de Souve-
rain & d'exercer l'autorité législative,
ou bien d'ériger une nouvelle forme de
gouvernement, & de remettre la Su-
prême Puissance, dont il se trouve alors
entièrement & pleinement revêtu, en-
tre de nouvelles mains, comme il juge
à propos.

F I N.



John Locke 6 132

Underlining, overlining, paraph, and signature in *Du Gouvernement Civil* [1291]

Illustration (c) also demonstrates the insertion of letters b, c beside the signature and registration of press



LIBER I.

CAPUT IV.

De Anco Marcio.

ANcus deinde Marcius, nepos Pompili ex filia, a pari ingenio. Hic igitur & monia muro amplexus est, & interfluentem Urbi Tiberinum ponte commisit; Ostiamque in ipso maris fluminis, que confinio coloniam posuit: jam tum videlicet prælagiens animo, futurum, ut totius mundi opes & commercus illo velut maritimo Urbis hospitio reciperentur.

INTERPRETATIO.

^a *Qui erat similis ingenio Numæ avo* qui fuerat intra Urbem. & condidit: & ^b *interfluentem* ^c *Urbem* ^d *Colaniam in ipso conatu maris & fluminis.*

NOTÆ.

CAP. VI. De Anco Marcio, Rege ante Virg. ^a *capit anno Mundi 331, ante Ch. Nat. 637, regnavit annis 24.* ^b *Drachinam candida utro commissa la-* ^c *formam.* ^d *Id est, habens caudas leporum, commi-* ^e *gas, conjunctas utero,* ^f *Oppidum in Latio, ad Ti-* ^g *beris osium.*

CAPUT V.

De Tarquinio Prisco.

TARQUINIUS postea Priscus, quamvis transmarinæ originis, regnum ultro petens, accipit, ob industriam atque elegantiam: quippe qui oriundus Corintho, Græcum ingenium Italicis artibus mil- cuisset. Hic & senatus majestatem numero ampliavit, & centuriis tri-

INTERPRETATIO.

^a *Hic ampliavit majestatem Senatus numero Senatorum, & auxit Centurias tribus alius Centuriis.*

NOTÆ.

CAP. V. De Tarquinio Prisco. Anno ^a *Mundi 331, ante Ch. Nat. 637, regna-* ^b *vit annis 18.* ^c *namque fugiens, in Etruriam commigra-* ^d *vit, ipse Lucumo dictus, postea vero ab* ^e *Urbe Tiberis Tarquinius nomine, Tar-* ^f *quinius vocatus.* ^g *Quod Florus de Senatu,* ^h *Aurel. Victor de Equitibus dicit, Centuriis* ⁱ *B ij*

ion, a heap, or tombe,
interfluent, or drought,
inter, a rack, a demand,
ment, interfluent, a great
well, a heap, or great, direct

note

an indigenous, or indigenous
Ephraim, fruitfull or
increasing

Damaris Mashan's writing (and seal of affection) in an interleaved Bible [1307]

Avec Permission & Approbation.

[illegible]

Page of master catalogue showing a note made from Varillas [3054]

LOCKE'S LIBRARY CATALOGUE

AARSSENS, Frans van, *Heer van Sommelsdijck*. Voyage d'Espagne . . . 1666. See 1459.

1. ABRADIE [Jacques]. [Traité] De la verité de la religion Chrétiene premiere partie 8^{vo} Rotterd: [16]84. 517 Seconde partie. 418 : f 2-18 [i.e. 2 florins 18 stuivers].

1^a. ABBATIUS, Baldus Angelus. De admirabili vipere natura . . . 12^o, Hage Comitit, 1660.

2. ABBONDANTI [Antonio]. [Il breviario delle] guerre de paesi bassi 12^o Colon 21 [sic for 1641]. 2 [i.e. price].

2^a. ABBOT, George. A briefe description of the whole world . . . 12^o, London, 1635. Folger Shakespeare Library. Title-page signed John Locke above 1-4, anno: 1649.

3. ABBY lands restitutions 73 R 13. The papacy of Paul the Fourth. Or, The restitution of Abby lands and impropriations . . . [Taken from Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, Book 5.] 4^o, London, 1673.

4. ABBICATION price P 11. The price of the abdication. 4^o, London, 1693.

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5. ABULPHARAGIUS, Gregorius. Historia compendiosa dynastiarum . . . Arabice edita, & Latine versa, ab E. Pocockio. 3 pts. 4^o, Oxoniae, 1663. 4. Lo: 63. 8¹/₂ L.

6. ACARETE [du Biscay]. An account of a voyage up the River de la Plata and thence overland to Peru 8^{vo} Lon. [16]28. p. 79. 2^a. Forms pt. of 83^a. ACCADEMIA DELLA CRUSCA. See CRUSCA.

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Yale.
810139

An account of Church-Government and Governments . . . [By T. Brett.] 1701. See 709^a.

An account of the French usurpation upon the trade of England. [By S. Bethel.] 1679. See 2973.

An account of the great divisions amongst the Quakers, in Pensilvania, &c. . . [By G. Keith.] 1692. See 2414.

An account of the growth of Deism in England. [By W. Stephens.] 1696. See 937.

An account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, in England and Ireland . . . [By J. Woodward.] 1699. See 2459.

7. ACONTIUS, Jacobus. Stratagematum Satanae. Ed. novissima. 12^o, Amstelædani, 1652.

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ACOSTA, José de. See COSTA, Josephus J.

8. ACTA ERUDITORUM anno 1682 4^o Lipsie [16]82. 402 q f. 3. 4^o, Lipsie 83. 561. q f. 3. 84. p. 591. 85. 595. 86. 630 Anno 87. 705. 88. 672 89. p. 653. 90. p. 611. 91. p. 590. Indices Generales. 92. p. 576. 93. p. 548. Supplementa Tom. 1 p. 639. 10 &c. [10-102] Masham lists show 13 vols. and 9 vols. notes.

ACTON, George. Physical reflections . . . concerning a new way of curing sundry diseases by transfusion of blood. 1668. See 2976.

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9. Of William & Mary fol. Lond. [16]89 1¹/₂.

10. — fol. Lond. 1¹/₂.

11. — for toleration. fol. 89. A 12.

An act for exempting their Majesties Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws. P^a, London, 1689.

12. — for annuities 92. A 18.

An act for granting to their Majesties an aid of four

- shillings in the pound for one year for carrying on a vigorous war against France. F^o, London, 1692.
13. — for sealed paper 24 A 19.
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14. Acts Gulielmi 3 for employing the poor of Bristol. A 6a.
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15. ACTUARIUS, Johannes. De spiritu animali libri II . . . I. Alexandrino interprete . . . F^o, [Paris] 1567.
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18. ADDISON, Lancelot. West-Barbary; or, A short narrative of the revolutions of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco . . . 8^o, Oxford, 1671.
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- ADDRESS
19. Address of Dissenting Ministers [4^o, 16]89 C 6.
20. — of y^e Parliamt: of Scotland 89. G 34.
An address sign'd by the greatest part of the Members of the Parliament of Scotland . . . 4^o, London, 1689.
21. — of L^{ds}: Sp^{tl}: & Temp^l: & Com^{ts}: for maintaining y^e Church [F^o, London, 16]89 A 4μ.
22. — for y^e French Warr 89 A 23.
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- An address to those of the Roman Communion in England . . . [By R. Willis.] 1700. See 2192.
- ADVENTURES (The) of five hours . . . [By S. Tuke.] 1663. See 2341.
- ADVERSARIA
- 23^a. Adversaria ethica. [A Locke MS.] 1661. 13a.
Not located.
- 23^b. Adversaria physica. [A Locke MS.] 1660. 13a.
Bodleian Library. MS. Locke d. 9.
24. Adversaria physica [A Locke MS.] [16]22 13a.
Bodleian Library. MS. Locke c. 44.
25. — Theologica. [A Locke MS.] [16]24 13a.
Bodleian Library. MS. Locke c. 43.
- ADVICE
26. The dutifull advice of a loving sonne to his aged father. 8^o, London, 1636.
7. Lo: 36. p. 45. v. Burghley. 244a [i.e. forms pt. of 519].
- 26^a. Advice of a parent to his children. 12^o, London, 1674.
- AEGINETA, Paulus
27. De re medica libri septem. J. Cornario interprete . . . F^o, [Paris] 1567.
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28. Παύλου Αἰγινήτου βιβλία ἑπτὰ. F^o, Venetiis, 1528.
8. 28.
29. AELFRICUS, Abbas. A Saxon treatise concerning the Old and New Testament . . . Now first published . . . with English of our times, by W. L'Isle. 4^o, London, 1623.
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31. Fables paraphrased in verse . . . with annotations by J. Ogilby. 2 vols. 8^o, London, 1683-4.
9. Lo: 8 Lon. 83 & 84: 117^a 117^b L.
32. Æsopus. Fabb: of Æsop & other eminent mythologists with Morals & Reflections by S^r R. L'Estrange fol. Lon. [16]92. p. 480 13.
33. Fabb. Gr: & Lat: 12. 95. 5.
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34. [Æsop at Tunbridge, or] A few select fables in verse. 8^o Lon. [16]28 3a, g.
35. Latine. 8^o Lon. [sic] 28 268^a.
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- 35^a. Fabulae Graecæ & Latine, nunc denno selectae . . . Ed. nova . . . 8^o, Amstelodami, 1660.
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- AGREEMENT
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- The agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholic Church . . . [By S. Nye.] 1697. See 3021.
- AGRICOLA, Georgius
37. De re metallica libri XII . . . F^o, Basilae, 1657.
11. Lo: Bas: 57 L 708 14 L.
Another entry. Agricola: Georg. A: De re metallica lib. 12 quibus accesserunt De animalibus [sic for animantibus] subterraneis l. 1 De ortu & causis subterraneorum l. 5 De nâa eor. quæ effluunt ex terrâ l. 4 De nâa fossilium. l. 10. De veteribus & novis metallis l. 2. Bernmannus sive de re metallica l. 1. Fol: Basil. 57. f 3-12. 708 14.
38. De ortu & causis subterraneor: &c: fol. Basil [1]558 f 1-6.
The L at the side of the entry deleted, with 'DD=B^eFurly' added, i.e. given to Benjamin Furly.

39. AGRIPPA, Henricus Cornelius. De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum declamatio invectiva . . . 12^o, Coloniae, 1568.
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40. AIGREMONT, J[ean] d[e]. L[aon]. s[ic]. d[e]. Relation du Voyage des Francois au Cap de Nord en Amerique 8^o Par [16]54. p. 200 7.
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41. AINSWORTH, Henry. Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses, the Booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs . . . F^o, London, 1639.
12. Lo: 39 16 L.
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42. AINSWORTH, R[obert]. [The most natural and easie way of institution: containing] proposals for making a domestick education less chargeable to parents 4^o Lon. [16]28. p. 31. K 16.
- ALBERGATI, Fabio
43. Albergerati [sic]. [Trattato . . .] Del modo di Ridurre à pacè l'inimicitie private. 8^o Ven: [16]00. p. 294 71.
44. ALBERTUS, M[agnus]. De secretis mulierum 12^o Ar: [16]07. p. 390 18.
Another entry. — de secretis Mulierum 12^o. Ar. [16]07. 390 18.
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45. ALBINOVANTUS, C[aius] P[edro]. Elegia 3. et fragmenta. [Cum interpretatione et notis J. Scaligeri, F. Lindenbruchii, N. Heinsii, T.] Gorallii. 8^o Am: [17]03. p. 180. 7f.
- ALBO, M. Instruction générale pour la teinture des laines . . . 1671. See 2843.
46. ALCAZARADO, F[rancisco]. An historical discourse of the first discovery of the Isle of Madera. 4^o Lon. [16]75 K 4.
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- ALCHEMIA
47. Enchiridion physice restituit . . . [By J. d'Espagnet.] 2 pts. 8^o, Parisiis, 1623.
16. Lo: 23, p. 196 & 96 L.

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See also VILLA, Ghirone Francesco, *marchese di*. Oak Spring.
- Le voyage de Galilée; publié par le Sr de S. A. [i.e. F. Savinien d'Alquié.] [By M. Nau.] 1670. See 1209.
- 80^a. AISARIO DALLA CROCE, Vincenzo. *Disquisitio generalis ad historiam foetus* . . . 4°. Romæ, 1627.
- 80^b. ALTING, Heinrich. *Methodus theologiae didactica* . . . 12°. Amstelodami, 1662.
81. AMATUS, Lusitanus. *Curationum medicinalium centuriæ VII^a*. 12°. Venetiis, 1654.
25. Lo: Centuriæ 7^m. 12° Venet 24 q f 0-7 1.
- ÂME
82. L'ÂME [sic] des Bêtes 12° Ly: 76 359 7.
De l'âme des bêtes . . . Par A. D*** [i.e. A. Dilly]. 12°. Lyon, 1676.
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83. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSEY [Abraham Nicolas]. *Preliminaires des Traitez faits entre les roys de France et tous les princes de l'Europe depuis le regne de Charles VII. Ausquelles on a joints les actes concernant les negotiations de la paix concludue a Turin et a celle de Ryswick* 12° [Paris, 16]92 p. 222. 68. 88. 103. 36. 108. 24. 68. 24 7. 103 b.
- 83^a. AMERICA, South. Voyages and discoveries in South-America. The first up the River of Amazons . . . By C. d'Acugna. The second up the River of Plata . . . By M. Acarete. The third from Cayenne into Guiana . . . By M. Grillet and Bechamel . . . 3 pts. 8°. London, 1698. 70^a.
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85. AMMAN, J[an] C[oenraad]. [Surdus loquens, seu] *Methodus quâ, qui surdus natus est, loqui discere possit* 8° Ams: [16]92 p. 53. 7. 168 b.
- 85^a. AMMIRATO, Scipione. *Discorsi sopra Cesare Tacito*. 8°, Firenze, 1594.
86. AMPELIUS, Lucius. *Liber memorialis*. 8° Amstelodami, 1660.
26. Lo: 8°. 60. p. 46 L. *Formis pt. of 1148*.
- 86^a. AMYRAUT, Moïse. *La vie de François, seigneur de la Nouë, dit Bras-de-fer* . . . 4°. Leyde, 1661.
87. ANABAPTISTS. *A confession of faith put forth by the Elders and Brethren of many congregations of Christians Baptised upon profession of their faith. With an appendix concerning Baptisme*. [2nd ed.] 12° Lond [16]88. p. 140. 116^a.
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- 87^a. ANALECTA sacra nova et mira, de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia . . . Collectore & redatore T. N. Philadelphus [i.e. D. Rothe]. 3 pts. 8°. Coloniae, 1617-19.
- ANATOMICAL (An) account of the elephant accidentally burnt in Dublin . . . [By A. Mullen.] 1682. See 1845.
88. ANATOMIE of an Equivalent. [By G. Savile, Marquis of Halifax.] 4°. London, 1688. E 10.
89. ANATOMIQUE description d'un Camelion [sic] 4° Paris 69 q f 0-8.
Description anatomique d'un caméléon . . . [By C. Parnault.] 4°, Paris, 1669.
- ANCIENT (The) trades decayed, repaired again . . . 1678. See 2972.
- ANDERDON, John. *A call to all bishops, and others . . . now to come to the way of the Quakers* . . . [1670]. See 2420.
- 89^a. ANDRÉ, François. *Entretiens sur l'acide et sur l'alkali, où sont examinées les objections de M^r Boyle* . . . 12°, Paris, 1677.
- ANDRÉ, Jean
90. André manuel du commerce 8° Paris. [16]80. l.
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Nouveau manuel du commerce. 4°, Paris, 1657.

- ANGLESEY, Arthur Annesley, 1st Earl of. *England's confusion* . . . 1659. See 1047.
- A letter of remarks upon [G. Hickes'] *Jovian* . . . [Attributed variously to W. Atwood and to the 1st Earl of Anglesey.] 1683. See 1591.
- ANGLIA
92. Anglia. *Demarches de l'Angleterre vers Rome* [By L. Du Moulin.] 12°. [16]29 61 40^a.
93. *Considerations et ouvertures sur l'Estat [present des affaires] d'Angleterre* [By L. Du Moulin.] 12°. [16]29. 22. 40^a.
- 93^a. Angliæ tutamen: or, The safety of England . . . 4°. London, 1695.
Goldsmiths' Library, Senate House, London.
94. ANGULLARA, L[uis]. *Pareri sopra i Semplici* 8° Ven. 1561. p. 304 v. Monardes 338 [i.e. bound with 2015].
Semplici liquali in più pareri a diversi nobili huomini scritti appaiono . . . 8°, Vinegia, 1561.
- ANGUIS in herba . . . [Attributed to John, Lord Somers.] 1702. See 2732.
- ANIMADVERSIONS on a postscript to the defence of Dr. Sherlock . . . [1693?] See 3014.
- ANJOU
95. Anjou. Several papers relating to the Duke of Anjou's succession to the crown of Spain.
96. The Duke of Anjou's succession considered 4° London [17]01. p. 1. p. 36. p. 2. 59 [K 46].
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97. An argument for War 4° Lon [17]01. p. 28 about peace & war C 29a.
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Yale.
- 97^a. ANNIBALE tragicomedia. 12°, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1669. Not identified.
- ANQUETIN, Pierre
98. Anquetin [sic]. *Dissertation sur S^{te} Marie Magdaleine* [sic] 8° Par. [16]92. p. 349. 83 d.
- ANSWER
- An answer to D^r Sherlock's Case of allegiance . . . [By T. Browne.] 1691. See 63.
- An answer to some queries proposed by W. C. . . . [By J. Hall.] 1694. See 2471.
99. ANTICHRISTUS. *Commentatio ad loca quædam N. T. [scilicet] que de Antichristo agunt . . .* [By H. Grotius.] 8° Am. [16]41. p. 140 [sic for 93]. v. *Miscellanea* 270. [Possibly a vol. marked *Miscellanea*.]
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100. ANTILLES. *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique* . . . [Attributed variously to J. B. Du Tertre, L. de Poincy, and C. de Rochefort.] 4°. Rotterdam, 1658.
33. Lo: 58. p. 327 13 L.
- ANTONINUS, Marcus Aurelius
101. *Meditations concerning himself* . . . Transl. . . with notes by M. Casaubon. 2nd ed. 4°. London, 1635.
33. Lo: 35 8 L.
102. Antoninus, M. A. Gasteri. 4° Lon: [sic] 52 10.
De rebus suis . . . libri XII . . . Studio operæ T. Gasteri. 4°. Casabrigia, 1652.
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103. *Reflections Morales* 12°. Am: [16]91. 162 Tom. 2°. 264 21.
- [50.] APHORISMS. 153 Chymical Aphorisms 16°. Lon: [16]89. 27 23^a.
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104. APOLLONORUS, *Atheniensis*. *Bibliothecæ, sive De decorum origine libri III* . . . 8°. Antverpiæ, 1565. 35. Lo: Lat. 8° Ant. 1565. p. 82 L.
Another entry. Apolodorus [sic]. Lat. 8° Ant. 565. 82 35^a.
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- APOLOGIA
105. *Apologie des Dominicains missionnaires de la Chine. Ou Reponse au livre du P. le Tellier intitulé*

- tulè Défense des Nouveaux Chrétiens [By N. Alexandre]. 12^o Col. [16]92. p. 603 & 196^{105c}.
- Apologia pro confessione sive Declaratione sententiae eorum, qui in Foederato Belgio vocantur Remonstrantes . . . 1629. See 1333.
- APOLOGY
An apology for the ministers of the County of Wilts . . . By H. Chambers [&c.]. 1654. See 782.
- An apology for the ministers who subscribed only unto the stating of the truths and errors in Mr Williams' book . . . [By W. Lorimer.]. 1694. See 1597.
- APPEAL (An) to all Protestant Kings, Princes, and States . . . 1700. See 2398.
106. AQUAPENDENS, Hieronymus [Fabricius]. Opa Chirurg. 8^o. Fran: [16]20 1096¹⁰².
See also FABRICIUS, Hieronymus, ab Aquapendente.
107. ARANTIUS, Julius Caesar. De humano foetu libellus. A L. Scholzio . . . in lucem editus. 12^o. Basileae, 1579.
38. Lo: 12^o Bas. 99⁹⁰.
108. ARATOR, Subdiacomus. In Sanctissima Apostolorum acta . . . 8^o. Basileae, 1537.
38. Lo: 12^o Bas. L. Forms pt. of 1609.
- 108^a. ARATUS. Φαινόμενα καὶ Διοσημεῖα. . . Accesserunt annotationes in Eratosthenem et hymnos Dionysii. 8^o. Oxonii, 1672.
Oak Spring.
109. ARCAEUS, Franciscus. De recta curandorum vulnerum ratione . . . 8^o. Amstelodami, 1658.
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Another entry. Officia de Senectute, de Amicitia, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis Grævij 12° Am: 91 ⁷/_{238a}. Entry deleted and then dotted underneath as far as 'Som'.

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716. — 8° Lug. 36. ⁷/₂₄₈ Erasmi.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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1682. See 2025.
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168

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1016. 1017. 1018. 1019. 1020. 1021. 1022. 1023. 1024. 1025. 1026. 1027. 1028. 1029. 1030. 1031. 1032. 1033. 1034. 1035. 1036. 1037. 1038. 1039. 1040. 1041. 1042. 1043. 1044. 1045. 1046. 1047. 1048. 1049. 1050. 1051. 1052. 1053. 1054. 1055. 1056. 1057. 1058. 1059. 1060. 1061. 1062. 1063. 1064. 1065. 1066. 1067. 1068. 1069. 1070. 1071. 1072. 1073. 1074. 1075. 1076. 1077. 1078. 1079. 1080. 1081. 1082. 1083. 1084. 1085. 1086. 1087. 1088. 1089. 1090. 1091. 1092. 1093. 1094. 1095. 1096. 1097. 1098. 1099. 1100. 1101. 1102. 1103. 1104. 1105. 1106. 1107. 1108. 1109. 1110. 1111. 1112. 1113. 1114. 1115. 1116. 1117. 1118. 1119. 1120. 1121. 1122. 1123. 1124. 1125. 1126. 1127. 1128. 1129. 1130. 1131. 1132. 1133. 1134. 1135. 1136. 1137. 1138. 1139. 1140. 1141. 1142. 1143. 1144. 1145. 1146. 1147. 1148. 1149. 1150. 1151. 1152. 1153. 1154. 1155. 1156. 1157. 1158. 1159. 1160. 1161. 1162. 1163. 1164. 1165. 1166. 1167. 1168. 1169. 1170. 1171. 1172. 1173. 1174. 1175. 1176. 1177. 1178. 1179. 1180. 1181. 1182. 1183. 1184. 1185. 1186. 1187. 1188. 1189. 1190. 1191. 1192. 1193. 1194. 1195. 1196. 1197. 1198. 1199. 1200. 1201. 1202. 1203. 1204. 1205. 1206. 1207. 1208. 1209. 1210. 1211. 1212. 1213. 1214. 1215. 1216. 1217. 1218. 1219. 1220. 1221. 1222. 1223. 1224. 1225. 1226. 1227. 1228. 1229. 1230. 1231. 1232. 1233. 1234. 1235. 1236. 1237. 1238. 1239. 1240. 1241. 1242. 1243. 1244. 1245. 1246. 1247. 1248. 1249. 1250. 1251. 1252. 1253. 1254. 1255. 1256. 1257. 1258. 1259. 1260. 1261. 1262. 1263. 1264. 1265. 1266. 1267. 1268. 1269. 1270. 1271. 1272. 1273. 1274. 1275. 1276. 1277. 1278. 1279. 1280. 1281. 1282. 1283. 1284. 1285. 1286. 1287. 1288. 1289. 1290. 1291. 1292. 1293. 1294. 1295. 1296. 1297. 1298. 1299. 1300. 1301. 1302. 1303. 1304. 1305. 1306. 1307. 1308. 1309. 1310. 1311. 1312. 1313. 1314. 1315. 1316. 1317. 1318. 1319. 1320. 1321. 1322. 1323. 1324. 1325. 1326. 1327. 1328. 1329. 1330. 1331. 1332. 1333. 1334. 1335. 1336. 1337. 1338. 1339. 1340. 1341. 1342. 1343. 1344. 1345. 1346. 1347. 1348. 1349. 1350. 1351. 1352. 1353. 1354. 1355. 1356. 1357. 1358. 1359. 1360. 1361. 1362. 1363. 1364. 1365. 1366. 1367. 1368. 1369. 1370. 1371. 1372. 1373. 1374. 1375. 1376. 1377. 1378. 1379. 1380. 1381. 1382. 1383. 1384. 1385. 1386. 1387. 1388. 1389. 1390. 1391. 1392. 1393. 1394. 1395. 1396. 1397. 1398. 1399. 1400. 1401. 1402. 1403. 1404. 1405. 1406. 1407. 1408. 1409. 1410. 1411. 1412. 1413. 1414. 1415. 1416. 1417. 1418. 1419. 1420. 1421. 1422. 1423. 1424. 1425. 1426. 1427. 1428. 1429. 1430. 1431. 1432. 1433. 1434. 1435. 1436. 1437. 1438. 1439. 1440. 1441. 1442. 1443. 1444. 1445. 1446. 1447. 1448. 1449. 1450. 1451. 1452. 1453. 1454. 1455. 1456. 1457. 1458. 1459. 1460. 1461. 1462. 1463. 1464. 1465. 1466. 1467. 1468. 1469. 1470. 1471. 1472. 1473. 1474. 1475. 1476. 1477. 1478. 1479. 1480. 1481. 1482. 1483. 1484. 1485. 1486. 1487. 1488. 1489. 1490. 1491. 1492. 1493. 1494. 1495. 1496. 1497. 1498. 1499. 1500. 1501. 1502. 1503. 1504. 1505. 1506. 1507. 1508. 1509. 1510. 1511. 1512. 1513. 1514. 1515. 1516. 1517. 1518. 1519. 1520. 1521. 1522. 1523. 1524. 1525. 1526. 1527. 1528. 1529. 1530. 1531. 1532. 1533. 1534. 1535. 1536. 1537. 1538. 1539. 1540. 1541. 1542. 1543. 1544. 1545. 1546. 1547. 1548. 1549. 1550. 1551. 1552. 1553. 1554. 1555. 1556. 1557. 1558. 1559. 1560. 1561. 1562. 1563. 1564. 1565. 1566. 1567. 1568. 1569. 1570. 1571. 1572. 1573. 1574. 1575. 1576. 1577. 1578. 1579. 1580. 1581. 1582. 1583. 1584. 1585. 1586. 1587. 1588. 1589. 1590. 1591. 1592. 1593. 1594. 1595. 1596. 1597. 1598. 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. 1603. 1604. 1605. 1606. 1607. 1608. 1609. 1610. 1611. 1612. 1613. 1614. 1615. 1616. 1617. 1618. 1619. 1620. 1621. 1622. 1623. 1624. 1625. 1626. 1627. 1628. 1629. 1630. 1631. 1632. 1633. 1634. 1635. 1636. 1637. 1638. 1639. 1640. 1641. 1642. 1643. 1644. 1645. 1646. 1647. 1648. 1649. 1650. 1651. 1652. 1653. 1654. 1655. 1656. 1657. 1658. 1659. 1660. 1661. 1662. 1663. 1664. 1665. 1666. 1667. 1668. 1669. 1670. 1671. 1672. 1673. 1674. 1675. 1676. 1677. 1678. 1679. 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2769. Stephanus, H. Apologia pro Herodoto fol. [Paris] 1566.
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- 2769*. STEPHANUS, Robertus. Ad censuras theologorum Parisiensium . . . responsio. 8°, [Geneva] 1552.
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A thanksgiving sermon preach'd . . . upon occasion of His Majesty's deliverance from . . . assassination . . . 4°, London, 1696.

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A sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons January 30. 1690. 8^o London, 1700.
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An account of the growth of Deism in England. 1696. See 937.
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- 2772¹. STERNHOLD, Thomas. The whole Book of Psalms in meter. According to the art of short-writing written by J. Rich. 64^o; London, 1659.
2773. STROUCH, Augustinus. De perenni philosophia perenni philosophia [sic] libri X fol. Lugdun. 1540. p. 625. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
- STILLINGFLEET, Edward
2774. Stillingfleet, E. Origines Sacrae [3rd ed. corrected. . .] 4^o Lon. [16]66. p. 619. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
Oak Spring.
2775. A defence of the discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome in answer to a booke [by T. Gassen] entitled Catholicks no Idolaters. 8^o Lon. [16]76. p. 877. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
Oak Spring. 7-entry page list in ink.
2776. A relation of a conference about religion [at London. . . By E. Stillingfleet and G. Burnet] with some Gent of the Church of Rome [By G. Burnet.] 8^o Lon. [16]76. p. 58. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
2777. The doctrine of the Church for the first 800 years in the point of the sacraments in a letter to my Lady F. ibs. [8^o London, 1676.] p. 193. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. *Forms pt. of 2776.*
2778. A second discourse in vindication of the protestant grounds of faith ag^t the pretence of Infalibility in the Roman Church 8^o Lon. [16]73. p. [295-]695. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
2779. A letter to a Deist. 8^o Lon. [16]82. p. 135. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
2780. A Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome 8^o Lon. [16]71. p. 573. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

2781. An answer to several treatises occasioned by a booke entitled a Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome 1^o p. 8^o Lon. [16]73. 291. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

2782. Sermon [16]92. C 12. Not identified.

2783. 91 N 15.

A sermon preached before the Queen at White-Hall March the 1st. 1690. 4^o London, 1691.

2784. 90 N 27.

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2785. Lett^r concerning his Sermon 80 G 21.

A letter written out of the country to a person of quality in the City who took offence at the late sermon of Dr. Stillingfleet. . . [By J. Howe.] 4^o London, 1680.

2786. Sermon. Not identified.

2787. A discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity 8^o Lond. [16]92. p. 292. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

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2789. Answer to Mr Lockes letter [concerning some passages relating to his Essay of humane understanding. . .] 8^o Lon. [16]92. p. 154. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
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2790. Answer to Mr Lockes 2^d letter 8^o Lon. [16]98. p. 178. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

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2791. STOBALUS, Johannes. Sententiae ex thesauris Graecorum delectae . . . nunc primum a C. Gesnero . . . in Latinum sermonem traductae . . . (Gk. & Lat.) T^o, Tiguri, 1543.

Il, 182. Lo. Tiguri. 1543. L 536. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. L.

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2792. Stool him Bays or some observations upon the humour of writing [Marvell's] Rehearsal Transposed. [Sometimes attributed to J. Dryden.] 12^o Os. [16]73. p. 124. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

2792¹. STORPA, Giovanni Battista. La religion des Hollandois . . . 12^o, Paris, 1673.

2792². STRADA, Famiano. De bello Belgico decas prima . . . 12^o, Antverpiae, 1648.

STRAUCHIUS, Aegidius

2793. Strauchius, Aeg. Breviarium chronologicum [Ed. 3^a. . .] 12^o Dan. [16]72. p. 1201. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

Oak Spring.

2793¹. Breviarium chronologicum. Ed. 2^a. . . 12^o, Wittebergae, 1664.

2794. De numerorum doctrina [aphorismi CCCXLIV.] 12^o Wit [16]62. p. 166. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

2794¹. Astrognesia, synoptice et methodice . . . adornata . . . 8^o, Wittebergae, 1659.

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2795. Street. [The description & use of the] Planetary systeme [4^o, London, 16]74. N 25.

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2797. The Indian nectar, or A discourse concerning chocolate . . . 8^o, London, 1662.

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Another entry. A discourse concerning Chocolate. 8^o Lon. 62. p. 184. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

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2798. Stubble, Hen. Light [shining] out of Darkness 4^o Lon [16]89. p. 186. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

2799. History of Achais 73. N 1.

The history of the United Provinces of Achais. Collected in Latin by . . . J. Goddofredus and rendered into English, with some additions, by H. Stubbs. 4^o, London, 1673.

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2800¹. An essay in defence of the good old Cause . . . 8^o, London, 1659.

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2800². SUBSTANCE [The] of the arguments for and against the bill for prohibiting the exportation of woollen manufacture from Ireland . . . 4^o, London, 1698.

Yale.

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2801. HIST^o of y^e Succession. A 22.

The history of the successions of the Kings of England . . . [By F. Cowke.] 1^o, London, 1682.

2802. Three great questions concerning succession & the Danger^o of Popery [By M. R.] [4^o, London, 16]80. J 16.

2803. SUCKING, Sir John. Fragmenta aurea. A collection of all the incomparable pieces . . . 8^o, London, 1646.

Il, 185. Lo. 46. L. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, Gaius

2804. Suetonius, C. T. Grevij 4^o Trai: 91. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

C. Suetonius Tranquillus, ex recensione J. G. Grevij . . . Ed. 2^a. . . 2 pts. 4^o, Tiguri ad Rhenum, 1691.

2805. Grevij 4^o Trai: 72.

C. Suetonius Tranquillus, ex recensione J. G. Grevij . . . 2 pts. 4^o, Tiguri ad Rhenum, 1672.

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C. F. R. Clarabut, London.

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[293.] SULLY [Maximilien de Béthune, duc de]. Memoires 12^o. Rou: [1662-16]63. T. I. R17. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

- T. 2. 561⁷. T. 3. 769⁷. T. 4. 707⁷. T. 5. 440⁷.
 418⁷. T. 6. 452⁴¹⁹. T. 7. 366⁴²⁰. T. 8. 267⁴²¹.
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- SUMMARY (The) of certain reasons, which moved Queen Elizabeth to proceed in reformations of her base and coarse monies . . . 1696. See 2023.
2806. SUPPLEMENTA. Suppléments des mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux arts. Tom. 1. 8° Am [17]92 ⁷/₄a.
- SWALVE, Bernhard
 2806^a. Alkali et acidum . . . 12°, Amstelodami, 1670.
- 2806^b. Pancreas pancrene . . . 12°, Amstelodami, 1668.
- SWAMMERDAM, Jan
 2807. Swammerdam, J. Hist General des Insectes 4° Utrecht. [16]82 ⁷/₂.
 Oak Spring.
2808. [Tractatus physico-anatomico-medicus] De Respiratione 8° Lug: B. [16]62. p. 121 ⁷/₂o.
2809. Ephemeris vita [4°, London, 16]81 C 8.
- 2809^a. Miraculum naturae, sive Uteri muliebris fabrica . . . 4°, Lugduni Batavorum, 1679.
- SWEDEN. Articles of peace with Sweden. 1661 and 1662. See 130 and 131.
- SWIFT, Jonathan. A discourse of the contests and dissensions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome . . . 1701. See 1299.
- SYDENHAM, Thomas
 2810. Sydenham, Tho. Dissertatio Epistolaris de curatione variolarum confluentium et de Affectione hysterica 8° Lon. [16]82. p. 193 ⁷/₄a. bis.
 'Bis' deleted, with 'D. J. K.' in the margin, i.e. one copy given away.
2811. Schedula monitoria de novae febris ingressu [Ed. 2^a] 8° Lon: [16]88. p. 127 ⁸/₁₀a.
2812. Opera universa [Ed. 2^a] 8° Lon. [16]82. p. 321. 275. 175 ⁸/₁₂a.
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2813. Opera universa. 8° Am. [16]82. p. 489. 131. 49. ⁸/₂₇ bis.
 Oak Spring. Marginal notes by Locke.
2814. Observationes medicae circa morbos acutior hist & curationem. 8° Lon. [16]76. p. 428 ¹³/₂a.
 Oak Spring. Fly-leaves made into an index by Locke. Notes and 1-line page list.
2815. Processus integri in morbis fere omnibus curandis. 12° Lon. [16]93. p. 97. ⁸/₄a.
2816. Sydenham, T. Epist. responsoriae 2^a de morbis epidemicis ab anno [16]75 ad [16]80. 8° London. [16]80 A. E. 82 ⁷/₂o. [i.e. reviewed in Acta Eruditorum, 1682, p. 79].
- 2816^a. Opuscula quotquot hactenus separatim prodierunt omnia nunc primum junctim edita . . . 8°, Amsteladami, 1683.
- [1119.] SYLVA Y FIGUEROA, García de. L'ambassade de D. García de Silva Figueroa en Perse . . . Traduite de l'Espagnol par M. de Wicqfort. 4°, Paris, 1667.
 II, 188. Lo: p. 506 L.
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- SYLVIUS, Franciscus de le Boe
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- 2817^a. Disputationum medicarum pars prima. 12°, Amstelodami, 1663.
- 2817^b. Praxeos medicae idea nova. Liber primus. 12°, Lugduni Batavorum, 1671.
- SYLVIUS, Jacobus
 2817^c. De febribus commentarius . . . 8°, Parisiis, 1561.
- 2817^d. La pharmacopée . . . 12°, Paris, 1625.

2818. SYNESIUS, alchemist. Le vray livre du docte Synesius . . . 4°, Paris, 1659.
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- SYNGE, Edward. A gentleman's religion . . . 3 pts. 1693-7. See 1241.
2819. SYNOD. v. Convocation A vindication of the authority of Christian princes over Ecclesiastical Synods [By J. Turner.] 8° Lon [17]81. p. 100 ⁸/₂a.
- SYSTEMA Africanum . . . [By W. Wilkinson.] 1690. See 1367.
- T., R.
 2820. R. T. A discourse concerning Liberty of conscience. [By Sir P. Pett.] 8 Lon [16]81. p. 117 ¹¹/₁₁.
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- TACHARD, Guy
 2821. Tachard, G. Voyage de Siam. 8° Am. [16]82. p. 227 ⁸/₄.
 Oak Spring. 1-line page list in pencil. Bound with 693.
2822. Second voyage au Siam. 4° Par [16]82. p. 416 ¹³/₂a.
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- TACHENIUS, Otto
 2822^a. Antiquissimae Hippocraticae medicinae clavis . . . 8°, Venetiis, 1669.
- 2822^b. Hippocrates chimicus . . . 8°, Brunsvigae, 1668.
- TACITUS, Gaius Cornelius
 2823. Novae cogitationes in libros Annalium C. Cornelii Taciti qui extant. Auctore Ludovico Dorleais . . . P, Parisiis, 1622.
 II, 192. Lo: 22 L ¹⁵/₁₀ K.
2824. Tacitus Lipsij fol Antwer 22 L ¹⁵/₁₀.
 Opera quae extant. I. Lipsius postremum recensuit . . . 3 pts. P, Antverpiae, 1627.
2825. Cum Commentarijs 21 virorum fol Paris. 98 ¹⁵/₁₅.
 C. Cornelii Taciti et C. Velleii Paternuli scripta quae
- extant: recognita, emendata: addidit commentarii copiosissimi . . . P, Parisiis, 1668.
2826. Tacitus [ex I. Lipsii accuratissima editione.] 12° Lug. B. [16]34. p. 786 ²/₁₀.
2827. — Pichonis in usum Delphini 4° Par. 82 Tom. 1. 11^a. T. 2 11^b. T. 3 11^c. T. 4 11^d.
 Opera interpretatione perpetua et notis illustravit J. Pichon. In usum Delphini. 4 vols. 4°, Parisiis, 1682-7.
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- 2827^a. Ab excessu Augusti Annalium libri sedecim. 16°, Lugduni, 1551.
- 2827^b. Opera quae extant. 24°, [Heidelberg] 1595.
- 2827^c. Opera quae extant. J. Lipsius postremum recensuit . . . Accessit scorsim C. V. Paternulus . . . 4°, Antverpiae, 1600.
- 2827^d. Opera quae extant . . . notisque auctoribus illustrata, per C. Pichenam . . . 4°, Francofurti, 1607.
- 2827^e. Opera quae extant, a I. Lipsio postremum recensita . . . P, Antverpiae, 1648.
- TACKER, Johann. De consanguinitate auri, sacchari et spiritus vini . . . 1659. See 155.
2828. TACQUET, André. Elementa geometricae planae ac solidae . . . Ed. 3^a correctior. 8°, Antverpiae, 1672.
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- 2828^a. TALBOR, Sir Robert. Hyperchoylia, a rational account of the cause and cure of agues . . . 12°, London, 1672.
2829. TALLENTS, Francis. A view of universal history. fol. [London, 1685.] ⁷/₁.
- TANGIER
 2830. A description of Tangier the Country and people adjoining 4° Lon. [16]64. p. 84. M 5.
2831. A discourse touching Ty 4° Lon. [16]80. p. 40. K 40.
2832. TANNER, Thomas. Notitia Monastica. Or a

- short history of the Religious houses in England & Wales 8^o Ox. [1692] p. 233. 2^o.
283. TASMAN, Ab[er] [an] [son]. Voyage towards 1st South Terra incognita. 8^o Lon. [1694] p. 196. 2^o. *Forma ge. of 2072.*
- TASSO, Torquato.
2834. Gerusalemme liberata . . . 4^o. Caslinaggiore, 1581.
- II. 195. Lo: 4^o Cas. 21 1/2 L.
2835. Aminta favola boscareccia . . . 24^o. In Venezia. 1639.
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2836. TATZ, N[athan]. [Miscellanea sacra: or.] Poems on divine subjects [Vol. 1.] 8^o Lon. [1692]. 1^o.
- Oak Spring. Liber Jo: Locke ex Dano Authen.
- TAVERNIER, Jean Baptiste
2837. Tavernier, J. B. Collection of Relations fol. Lond. [1690] 2^o.
- Oak Spring.
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- TAXES
2839. A treatise of Taxes & Contributions [By Sir W. Petty.] 4^o. London [sic for 1667] R 19.
2840. An expedient for taking away all impositions and raising a revenue without Taxes by: F. Craddock 4^o Lon: [1660] p. 12. N 49.
2841. A word without doors for an effectual carrying on the war agt. France. G 50. *Not identified.*
2842. TAYLOR, J[eremy]. [Σύμβολον ἠθικο-πολιτικόν. Or A] Collection of polemical and moral discourses fol. Lond. [1652] 718 1/2.
- Oak Spring.
2843. TEINTURE. Instruction generale pour la Teinture [des laines . . .] [By M. Albo.] 12^o Par [1671]. p. 175 1/2.
- Oak Spring.
2844. TEKELI [Émeric, comte de]. Hist. d'Émeric Comte de Tekeli. [By J. Le Clerc.] [2^e éd.] 12^o Col: [1694] p. 292. 183b.
2845. TELEMACHUS. The Adventures of T. [Transl. from the French of Fénelon.] pt. 1. 12^o Lon. [1699] p. 132. 183b. p. 2. 3. 4. 5. 12^o Lon. [1700] p. 700. 195c.
2846. TEMPLE, Sir R[ichard]. Some short remarks upon Mr Lockes booke [Further considerations concerning raising the value of money] in answer to Mr Loundes. 4^o Lon. [1696] p. 12. K 9.
- TEMPLE, Sir William
- [1961.] Temple, Sir Wm. Memoirs [2nd ed.] 8^o Lon: [1692] 392 1/2.
- See also MEMOIRS.
2847. Lettres in 2. Vol. 8^o Lon: 1700. p. 320 & 360 1/2. c.
- Letters written by Sir W. Temple, Bart. and other ministers of state . . . 2 vols. 8^o. London, 1700.
2848. Miscellanea. pt. 3d 8^o Lon: [1701] p. 368. 2^o.
2849. TEMPLER, J[ohn]. Idea Theologicæ Leviathanis 8^o Lon. [1673] p. 395 1/2.
- TENISON, Thomas, Abp of Canterbury
2850. The creed of Mr. Hobbes examined . . . 8^o. London, 1670.
- II. 197. Ma: 20. 248 7/7 L.
- Oak Spring.
- 2850^a. His Grace the Lord Archbishop's of Canterbury's [Le. T. Tenison's] letter to the Rt. Revd. Lords Bishop of his province. 4^o [London, 1699]. Yale.
- TENNISON, Richard, Bp of Killala & Achonry. See KILLALA.
2851. TENTZELIUS, A[ndreas]. Medicina Diastatica 16^o Jchn. [1629] p. 188 2/3.
- 2851^a. TERENTIUS, Johannes. ספר קהלת sive Ecclesiastes Salomonis, Hebraicè & Latinè. Cum

- difficiliorum anomaliarum et masorae marginalis elucidatione . . . 8^o. Franekeræ, 1666.
- Oak Spring.
- TERENTIUS, Publius
2852. Terentius, P. T. Comœdiæ accurate Schrevelio. 8^o Lug: B. [1669] p. 364 1/2.
- Oak Spring.
2853. Comœdiæ [sex. Ex recensione Heinsiana.] 16^o Am [1665] 2^o.
- Oak Spring.
2854. ib 16^o [1630] 2^o. *Not identified.*
2855. Comœdiæ Farnabij 12^o Ams. 57 1/2.
- Comœdiæ sex. Ex recensione Heinsiana cum annotationibus T. Farnabij . . . 12^o. Amstelodami, 1657.
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2856. — 12^o Cant. 01. p. 372 1/2.
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- 2856^a. VI. Comœdiæ. Cum annotationibus J. H. Boeceri . . . 3 pts. 8^o. Argentorati, 1657.
- 2856^b. Comédies traduites en François . . . 12^o. Lyon, 1670.
- TERMES (Les) de la ley . . . [By J. Rastell.] 1629. See 1692.
2857. TERRY, E[dward]. A voyage to East India. 8^o Lon. [1655] p. 545 1/2.
- Oak Spring. 3-line page list in ink.
- TERTRE, Jean-Baptiste du
2858. Tertre, le R. P. du. Hist. Generales [sic] des Antilles 4^o Par. [1667] [-1671]. Tom. 1. p. 593. T. 2. p. 539. Tom. 3. p. 317 T. 4. p. 362 1/2. 10 1/2. 10 1/2. 10 1/2.
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- TEXTULLIANUS, Quintus Septimius Florens
2859. Tertullianus. Apologeticus Lat. & Gal. 8^o Am: 1701. p. 156 1/2.
- Apologétique . . . De la traduction de M. Giry. Nouv. éd. avec le texte latin à côté . . . 8^o. Amsterdam, 1701.
- 2859^a. Scripta . . . Non omisit accuratè B. Rhenani annotationibus . . . P^o. Basileæ, 1562.
- Oak Spring.
- TESTAMENTUM NOVUM
2860. Novum Iesu Christi D. N. Testamentum . . . (Syriac in Hebrew characters, Lat. & Gk.) 4^o. Parisiis, 1584.
- II. 198. Lo: 4^o. 1584 1/2 L.
- Oak Spring.
2861. Testamentum N. Græce cum interpretatione veteri et Bezae [P^o. Geneva] 1588 1/2.
- Oak Spring.
2862. Græcè interlaved 4^o 1/2.
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2863. Gallicè Mons 12^o. T2 7/2.
- Le Nouveau Testament . . . traduit en François . . . Nouv. éd. . . 12^o. Mons, 1672.
- Oak Spring. On fly-leaves 4 pages of Locke's writing. An attempt at a New Testament chronology from years 1-66.
2864. [Le Nouveau Testament . . . traduit] En François avec le Grec et le Latin de la Vulgate ajoutée a cote. [Nouv. éd.] 8^o Mons [1673] interlaved. 10 1/2 [-10 1/2].
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2865. Græcè 12^o Ox. T5 1/2.
- Novi Testamenti libri omnes . . . [Ed. by J. Fell.] 12^o. Oxoniæ, 1675.
2866. [Novi Testamenti libri omnes, recens nunc editi] Græcè cum notis R. Stephani: Scaligeri et J. Casauboni. 8^o Lon: [1633] 2^o.

- short history of the Religious houses in England & Wales. 8°. Ox: [1655] p. 288. $\frac{5}{8}$ s.
2833. TASMAN, AB[el] Jan[seon]. Voyage towards the South Terra incognita. 8° Lon. [1694] p. 196. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. *Forma pl. 2072.*
- TASSO, TORQUATO.
2834. Gertusalemme liberata . . . 4°. Casalmaggiore, 1551.
Il. 148. Lo: 4° Cas. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. L.
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2836. TATE, N[athan]. [Miscellaneous sacred or.] Poems on divine subjects [Vol. 1.] 8° Lon. [1626].
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2837. TAVENNER, J. B. Collection of Relations fol. Lond. [1638].
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3173. WOLFF, Johann. Lectionum memorabilium et reconditarum centenarii XVI. 2 vols. P^r, Lausgæ, 1600.
II, 259. Lo: 00 T. 1. 1072. T. 2. 1074. ^{10b}. c. L. Oak Spring.
3174. WOLZGENTUS, J[ohannes] L[judovicus]. Opera, f Iren: [16]56. T. 1. p. 1038. ^{10g}. T. 2. p. 356 & 132 ^{10h}.
- WOOD, John
3175. Wood, Jo. [A relation of a] Voyage for the discovery of a north east passage. 8^o Lon. [16]94. p. 196. ^{11a}. Forms pt. of 2072.
3176. Voyage through the Streights of Magellan 8^o Lon [16]92. p. 100. ^{1d}. Forms pt. of 1370^a.
- WOOD, Robert
3177. Wood, R. Times mended [F^o, London, 1681.] A 4.
- 3177^a. A new almanac. 4^o, London, 1680.
3178. WOODNOTH, A[rthur]. A short collection of the most remarkable passages from the original to y^e dissolution of the Virginia Company 4^o Lon [16]51. p. 20 O 5.
- WOODWARD, John
3179. Woodward, J. An Essay towards a natural history of the Earth & Terrestrial body's especially

minerals. As also of the sea rivers & springs, with an account of the universal deluge & of the effects it had upon the earth. 8^o Lon. [16]95. p. 277. ⁸/₂a. Oak Spring. Note by Locke on fly-leaf. 3-entry page list in pencil.

3180. Brief Instructions for making observations in all parts of the world. As also for collecting, preserving & sending over natural things 4^o Lon: [16]96. p. 20. C 57.

WOODWARD, Josiah. An account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners . . . 1699. See 2459.

WOOL

3181. The interest of England considered in an Essay upon Wool, our woollen manufacture [sic] & the improvem^t of Trade. 8^o Lon: [16]94. p. 100. ³/₄a.

3182. Reasons for a limited exportation of Wooll. 4^o [Oxford, 16]77. p. 24 H 12.

3183. A treatise of Wooll & Cattell. [Attributed to Sir R. L'Estrange.] 4^o Lon: [16]77. p. 33. K 36.

3184. A discourse shewing that the exportation of Wooll is destructive to this Kingdom. [By T. Manley.] 4^o Lon. [16]77. p. 12. K 43.

WORD

A word in season, to prevent undue elections and returns of Members of Parliament . . . 1688. See 2203.

3185. Word of God. The Word of God the best guid [By W. Howell.] [2nd ed.] 8^o Lon. [16]98. p. 168. ⁷/₂a.

3185a. A word without doors concerning the Bill for Succession. [Signed J. D.] [F^o, London? 1679?] G 50.

3186. WORTHINGTON [John]. [Ἰσχυροῦς λόγων. A form of sound words: or a] Scripture Catechis: [4th ed.] 8^o Lon: [16]81. 61. ⁷/₂a.

WOTTON, William

3187. Wotton, W. Reflections upon ancient & moderne Learning [2nd ed.] 8^o Lon: [16]92. p. 421 [& 152] ⁸/₂a. Oak Spring.

3187a. Reflections upon ancient and modern learning. 8^o, London, 1694. ⁸/₂a.

3188. WREN, M[atthew]. Monarchy asserted. 8^o Lon. [sic for Oxford 16]59. p. 189. ²/₂a.

WRIGHT. The case of the City of Oxford. 1693. See 2164.

3189. WRIGHT, W[illiam]. A letter to a member of Parliam^t occasioned by a letter [of Sir B. Shower] to a Convocation-man 4^o Lon [16]97. p. 72. H 40.

3190. WURTZ, Fel[ix]. Surgery military & domestique 4^o Lon. 58. p. 366. ³/₄a. The surgeons guid: or military and domestique surgery . . . 4^o, London, 1658.

WYCHERLEY, William

3190a. The plain-dealer: a comedy . . . 4^o, London, 1677.

3190b. Plays. 4^o, London, 1694.

3191. WYETH, J[oseph]. [Anguis flagellatus: or, A switch for the snake. Being] An answer to the [third and last ed. of The] snake in the grass 8^o Lon [16]99. p. 548. ⁸/₂a.

WYNN, John. An abridgment of Mr. Locke's Essay concerning humane understanding. 1696. See 1791.

[1867.] WYFFLIET [Cornille]. Hist. universelle des Indes [Orientales et] Occidentales [Divisee en deux livres, le premier par C. Wyffliet: le second par A. M[agin] . . .] fol: Doway [1605-16]02. ¹³/₂a. See also MAGIN, Antoine.

[963.] XAVIER, Hieronymus. Historia Christi Persice conscripta . . . Latine reddita & animadversionibus notata a L. de Dieu. 4^o, Lugduni Batavorum, 1639. II, 263. 39. ⁹/₂a. L. See also DIEU, Ludovicus de.

XENOPHON

3192. Xenophon [Omnia quae extant] Opera Græc. & Lat. fol. H. Stephani [Geneva] 1561. ¹⁴/₂a.

3193. Hist. Grecque de Xenophon 12^o Par. [16]78. p. 375.

Another entry. Gallicé 12^o Par. [16]78. p. 375. ⁸/₂a. Forms vol. 3 of 2896.

Les choses memorables de Socrate, ouvrage . . . traduit . . . par M^r Charpentier. 1657. See 670.

3194. YOUNG [Edward]. Remarks on Mr Y^e two discourses intitled The wisdom of Believing [4^o, London, 1701.] H1 7. p. II.

3195. ZAGUTUS, [Abraham] L[usitanus]. Praxis medica admiranda 8^o Lug: [16]37. ⁴/₂a.

ZABROWSKY, Jerome
Secreta monita Societatis Jesu. 1702. See 1570.

Secrets des Jésuites. 1669. See 1569.

3195a. ZARATE, Agustin de. Histoire de la découverte et de la conquête du Pérou. Traduite de l'Espagnole . . . par S. D[e] C[itry], 2 vols. 12^o, Amsterdam, 1700.

3196. ZURKZER, P[eter] C[ornelius van]. A way propounded to make the Poor in these and other nations happy [Attributed to H. Peters and also to P. C. Ploekhoy.] 4^o Lon. [16]59. p. 13. N 47.

3197. ZWELFER, Johann. Pharmacopœia Augustana reformata, et eius Mantissa. Cum animadversionibus J. Zwelferi . . . 8^o, Goudæ, 1653.

II, 272. Lo: 53. ¹³/₂a. L.
Oak Spring. MS. additions to index by Locke.

APPENDIX I

LOCKE'S LIBRARY IN CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, JULY 1681

(MS. Locke f. 5, folios 92-103. See above pages 14-15)

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
Fol				
Hippocrates opera	—	1457 ^r	I	1
Foresti opera 2 vol	11-11 16-17	1155	I	2
Duretus in Coac	—	1457 ^s	I	1
Mercati opera 3	—	1966 ^s	I	3
Imperato	15 17	1542	I	1
Scapula	16 23	2560	I	1
Sennerti opera 2	15-15 20-21	2617	I	2
Hildanus	16 24	1452	I	1
Parkinson	16 17	2201	I	1
Villanovanus	13 5	3087	I	1
Sabellius 2	16-16 17-18	2521	I	2
Hooke	13 7	1488	I	1
Crusca	16 21	894	I	1
Institutio	16 28	Not identified, possibly 571	I	1
Praxis	16 27	2182	I	1
Adversaria 2. viz 60 & 61	—	Locke MS. Notebooks.	I	2
Highmior	—	1451 ^a	I	1
Constitutions Carolina	16 13	594	I	1
Sophy	17 29-30	2340	I	1
Tractatus de Morbo Gallico	—	2041	I	1
Ferrarius	13 20	1111	I	1
Bacon. 3	12-12, 12 13-16, 12	162, 164, 165	3	3
Ovalle	12 12	2152	I	1

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Title	Vols
Mittage	3 1	2639	I	1
Horker	3 1	2654	I	1
Hawson	3 1	2653	I	1
B. Johnson	3 1	2653	I	1
Bacon	3 1	266	I	1
4 th 11				
Gallen 1	—	2658	I	2
Pym	3 1	2671	I	1
Bachman	3 1	267	I	1
Bender	3 1	2670	I	1
Adventures 33	—	Locke MS. Notebook	I	1
Fennel	3 1	2677	I	1
— 4 th 15				
Bri 1	3 1	2666	I	4
Vega des Incas	3 1	2668	I	1
Vico	3 1	2667	I	1
Adventures 32	—	Locke MS. Notebook	I	1
Carr	3 1	628	I	1
Schroder	3 1	2696	I	1
Parish	3 1	2199	I	1
Goldman	3 1	2299	I	1
— 4 th 9				
Amorle	3 1	118	I	1
Boyle 3	3 1	474, 462, 465	3	3
Barnes	—	532	I	1
Claudian	3 1	740	I	1
Carr	3 1	664	I	1
Faber 1	3 1	1586	I	2
Grumb	3 1	1317	I	1
Hunt	3 1	1528	I	1
Jungius	3 1	1593	I	1

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Title	Vols
Ingram	3 1	1547	I	1
Klobin	3 1	1644	I	1
Litigie	—	1768	I	1
Mosheim 2	3 1	2065, 2066	2	2
Power	3 1	2380	I	1
Puffendorf	3 1	2451	I	1
Pach	3 1	2237	I	1
Pollack	3 1	2498	I	1
Spinosa	3 1	2742	I	1
Severinus	—	2633	I	1
Sisson	—	2673*	I	1
Timaeus	3 1	2922	I	1
Utzner	3 1	3023	I	1
Willis	—	3165*	I	1
Böde	3 1	308	I	1
Helmont	3 1	1417	I	1
— 8 th 9				
Meuse	3 1	1983	I	1
Baluz	3 1	181	I	1
Phal	3 1	1554	I	1
Wortz	3 1	3190	I	1
Neuerantz	3 1	2079	I	1
Linden	3 1	1760	I	1
Thunni bib:	3 1	2893	I	1
— 4 th 8				
Acosza	3 1	859	I	1
Bacon	3 1	178	I	1
Charron	—	673	I	1
Castro	3 1	639	I	1
Drake	—	993	I	1
Diemerbrock	3 1	963	I	1

Author	Poss.-mark	Catalogue No.	Tines	Vols
Benedict	I ^a	1047	I	1
Bernard	I ^b	1090	I	1
Bernward	I ^c	1139	I	1
Bieber	I ^d	1466	I	1
Beylich	I ^e	1467	I	1
Byss	I ^f	1539	I	1
Caenon	I ^g	1687	I	1
Light out of	I ^h	1794	I	1
Lighfoot	—	1795 ^a	I	1
Lighebrook	—	Not identified, possibly a MS.	I	1
Parliament 2	—	2145 ^a	I	3
Timaeus	I ⁱ	2323	I	1
Vices	—	Not identified	I	1
<hr/>				
Agapandens	I ^j	156	I	1
Berthold	I ^k	216	I	1
Boyle 4	I ^l , I ^m , I ⁿ , I ^o	438, 439, 444, 469	4	4
Boswell 2	I ^p , I ^q	550, 551	2	2
Bergner	I ^r	279	I	1
Claudianus	—	747 ^s	I	1
Cicero 3	I ^t , I ^u , I ^v	716, 718, 719	3	3
Clerk	I ^w	784	I	1
Eck	I ^x	1054	I	1
Foulter	I ^y	2464	I	1
Filmer	I ^z	1120-22	I	1
Hobbs	—	Possibly another copy of 1466	I	1
Livi	—	1771	I	1
Morale 3	I ^{aa} , I ^{ab}	2040	I	3
Magnol	I ^{ac}	1870	I	1
New Testament Gr	I ^{ad}	2865	I	1
Poterius	I ^{ae}	2377	I	1

Author	Pers.-mark	Catalogue No.	Folia	Vols
Piso	$\frac{7}{1}$	2313	1	1
Plinica	—	Not identified, possibly a MS.	1	1
Remusat	—	2669 ¹	1	1
Sackling	$\frac{8}{280}$	2803	1	1
Scab	$\frac{8}{182}$	2797	1	1
Sinon	$\frac{7}{54}$	2674	1	1
Selmsius 3.	—	2601 ³	1	3
Seillinghoffer 2	$\frac{8}{41} \frac{7}{75}$	2774, 2776	2	2
Sydenham 2	$\frac{8}{152A}$ —	2814, 2816	2	2
Skenkins 2	$\frac{8}{80} \frac{7}{17}$	2570	1	2
Sagard	$\frac{7}{18} \frac{7}{09} \frac{7}{391}$	2526 or 2527	1	1
Theazurum. 5	$\frac{7}{11}$	48	1	5
Verite	$\frac{8}{138}$	1877	1	1
Wepfer	$\frac{8}{224}$	3135	1	1
Zwelfer	$\frac{8}{154A}$	3197	1	1
— 8°. 7.				
Ansonius	$\frac{7}{262}$	156	1	1
Boyle	$\frac{7}{404}$	413	1	1
Busby	$\frac{7}{267}$	547	1	1
Bennet	$\frac{7}{152A}$	267	1	1
Barclay	$\frac{8}{249}$	203	1	1
Brunus	—	2054 ⁵	1	1
Bible Heb:	$\frac{7}{273}$	327	1	1
Brown	$\frac{7}{398}$	501	1	1
Bacon	$\frac{7}{266}$	175	1	1
Blunt	$\frac{7}{119}$	359	1	1
Bruele	—	501 ^A	1	1
Blegny 2	$\frac{7}{220} \frac{7}{10}$ —	346, 348	2	2
Bible En:	$\frac{7}{221} \frac{7}{246}$	312	1	5
Crato. 5	$\frac{7}{71}$	874	1	1
Casa	$\frac{7}{71}$	613		

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
French	8 54	1187	I	I
Febure	8 22	1100	I	I
Fierovanti	8 58	1129	I	I
Hobbes	8 208	1466	I	I
Heydon	8 42	1446	I	I
Kerger	8 81	1629	I	I
Langham	8 25	1675	I	I
Light out of	8 60	2798	I	I
Lightfoot	—	1752 ^a	I	I
Paperbook	—	Not identified, possibly a MS.	I	I
Parthenissa 3	—	2140 ^a	I	3
Timæus	8 14	2923	I	I
Verses	—	Not identified	I	I
— 8° 8				
Aquapendens	8 102	106	I	I
Bartholin	9 1	216	I	I
Boyle 4	8, 8, 8, 8 167, 59, 241, 161	438, 439, 444, 469	4	4
Buxtorf 2	8, 8 201, 209	550, 551	2	2
Bergerac	7 54	279	I	I
Claudius	—	741 ^a	I	I
Cicero 3	8, 8, 7 248, 247, 447	716, 718, 719	3	3
Clerk	7 62	784	I	I
Ent	8 62	1054	I	I
Fouket	7 17	2464	I	I
Filmer	8 135	1120-22	I	I
Hobbs	—	Possibly another copy of 1466	I	I
Livi	—	1771	I	I
Morale 3	8, 8 82, 94	2040	I	3
Magnol	7 33	1870	I	I
New Testament Gr	8 176	2865	I	I
Poterius	8, b 225	2377	I	I

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
Piso	7	2313	I	I
Physica	—	Not identified, possibly a MS.	I	I
Reusner	—	2469 ^a	I	I
Suckling	8 100	2803	I	I
Stub	8 181	2797	I	I
Simon	7 34	2674	I	I
Sebizius 3.	—	2601 ^b	I	3
Sillingfleet 2	8, 8 41, 78	2774, 2776	2	2
Sydenham 2	8, 8 152 ^a , —	2814, 2816	2	2
Skenkius 2	8, 8 86, 87	2570	I	2
Sagard	7, 7 08, or 134	2526 or 2527	I	I
Theatrum. 5	7, 7 7, 11	48	I	5
Verite	8 158	1877	I	I
Wepfer	8 234	3135	I	I
Zwelfer	8 154 ^a	3197	I	I
— 8° 7.				
Ausonius	7 362	156	I	I
Boyle	7 424	413	I	I
Busby	7 207	547	I	I
Bennet	7 153 ^a	267	I	I
Barclay	8 249	203	I	I
Brutus	—	2054 ^b	I	I
Bible Heb:	7 273	327	I	I
Brown	7 396	501	I	I
Bacon	7 366	175	I	I
Blunt	7 119	359	I	I
Bruele	—	501 ^a	2	2
Blegny 2	7 234, —	346, 348	I	I
Bible En:	7 50	312	I	5
Crato. 5	7, 7 233, 236	874	I	I
Casa	7 71	613	I	I

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
French	$\frac{8}{34}$	1187	I	I
Febure	$\frac{8}{22}$	1100	I	I
Fierovanti	$\frac{8}{58}$	1129	I	I
Hobbes	$\frac{8}{208}$	1466	I	I
Heydon	$\frac{8}{42}$	1446	I	I
Kerger	$\frac{8}{81}$	1629	I	I
Langham	$\frac{8}{25}$	1675	I	I
Light out of	$\frac{8}{60}$	2798	I	I
Lightfoot	—	1752 ^a	I	I
Paperbook	—	Not identified, possibly a MS.	I	I
Parthenissa 3	—	2140 ^a	I	3
Timæus	$\frac{8}{14}$	2923	I	I
Verses	—	Not identified	I	I
— 8° 8				
Aquapendens	$\frac{8}{102}$	106	I	I
Bartholin	$\frac{8}{1}$	216	I	I
Boyle 4	$\frac{8}{167, 59, 241, 101}$	438, 439, 444, 469	4	4
Buxtorf 2	$\frac{8}{201, 200}$	550, 551	2	2
Bergerac	$\frac{7}{54}$	279	I	I
Claudius	—	741 ^a	I	I
Cicero 3	$\frac{8, 8, 7}{248, 247, 447}$	716, 718, 719	3	3
Clerk	$\frac{7}{62}$	784	I	I
Ent	$\frac{8}{62}$	1054	I	I
Fouket	$\frac{7}{17}$	2464	I	I
Filmer	$\frac{8}{135}$	1120-22	I	I
Hobbs	—	Possibly another copy of 1466	I	I
Livi	—	1771	I	I
Morale 3	$\frac{8}{82, 84}$	2040	I	3
Magnol	$\frac{7}{33}$	1870	I	I
New Testament Gr	$\frac{8}{176}$	2865	I	I
Poterius	$\frac{8, 1}{229b}$	2377	I	I

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
Piso	$\frac{7}{2}$	2313	I	I
Physica	—	Not identified, possibly a MS.	I	I
Reusner	—	2469 ^a	I	I
Suckling	$\frac{8}{100}$	2803	I	I
Stub	$\frac{8}{181}$	2797	I	I
Simon	$\frac{7}{34}$	2674	I	I
Sebizius 3.	—	2601 ^b	I	3
Stillingsfleet 2	$\frac{8, 8}{41, 78}$	2774, 2776	2	2
Sydenham 2	$\frac{8}{152a, —}$	2814, 2816	2	2
Skenkius 2	$\frac{8, 8}{86, 87}$	2570	I	2
Sagard	$\frac{7, 7}{48, 184}$	2526 or 2527	I	I
Theatrum. 5	$\frac{7, 7}{11}$	48	I	5
Verite	$\frac{8}{158}$	1877	I	I
Wepfer	$\frac{8}{254}$	3135	I	I
Zwelfer	$\frac{8}{154a}$	3197	I	I
— 8° 7.				
Ausonius	$\frac{7}{292}$	156	I	I
Boyle	$\frac{7}{424}$	413	I	I
Busby	$\frac{7}{207}$	547	I	I
Bennet	$\frac{7}{153a}$	267	I	I
Barclay	$\frac{8}{249}$	203	I	I
Brutus	—	2054 ^a	I	I
Bible Heb:	$\frac{7}{273}$	327	I	I
Brown	$\frac{7}{296}$	501	I	I
Bacon	$\frac{7}{266}$	175	I	I
Blunt	$\frac{7}{119}$	359	I	I
Bruele	—	501 ^a	I	I
Blegny 2	$\frac{7}{224a, —}$	346, 348	2	2
Bible En:	$\frac{7}{50}$	312	I	I
Crato. 5	$\frac{7, 7}{231, 236}$	874	I	5
Casa	$\frac{7}{71}$	613	I	I

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
Davison	217	926	I	I
Dandini	311	912	I	I
Dunus	—	1003 ^a	I	I
Fienus	7 170	1115	I	I
Febure	8 52	1099	I	I
Fell	7 311 ^a	1102	I	I
Glauber 4	7 300-303	1254-70	17	4
Glisson 2	7 114 ^a , —	1271, 1272 ^a	2	2
Graunt	7 326	1311	I	I
Gabelchover	7 390 ^a	1203	I	I
Grisley	—	1327	I	I
Gent: cal	7 104	1240	I	I
Gellius	7 210	1232	I	I
Hartman	—	1396 ^a	I	I
Hafenrefer	7 319	1372	I	I
Heyden	7 413	1445	I	I
Hudibras	7 232	1530	I	I
Henshaw	7 111	1425	I	I
Heighmor	—	1451 ^b	I	I
Johnson	7 244 ^a	1577	I	I
Lully 2.	7 107 ^a , —	1834, 1834 ^a	2	2
Lomius	—	1803 ^b	I	I
Mayer	7 197	1872	I	I
Method	—	2067	I	I
Malpighius	7 173	1889	I	I
Mennis	7 185	1966	I	I
Pliny	7 6	2346	I	I
Platerus	7 161	2331	I	I
Perault 3	7 128-130	2259	I	3
Pauli	7 65	2236	I	I
Prævotius	—	2385 ^b	I	I

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
Quintilian	7 162	2424	I	I
Rhodius	7 361	2475	I	I
Trieu	7 318	2982	I	I
Sachs	—	2523 ^a	I	I
Waller	—	Not identified	I	I
Schikard	—	2571	I	I
Sharp	—	2643 ^a	I	I
Spanheim	7 342	2727	I	I
Septalius	7 438	2618	I	I
Sandys	7 198	2552	I	I
Wren	7 211	3188	I	I
Wecker	7 35	3129	I	I
Wharton	7 138	3136	I	I
Wilichius	—	3164	I	I
Zacutus	7 94 ^a	3195	I	I
— 12 ^o 6	—	1 ^a	I	I
Abatius	—	Not identified, possibly 78 ^a	I	I
Almanak	—	182, 183	2	2
Balzac. 2	—	256	I	I
Bellinus	6 128	350	I	I
Blockwit	7 237	221	I	I
Bartholin	6 242 ^a	248	I	I
Beckher	7 253	714	I	I
Cicero	7 229	992 ^a	I	I
Drage	—	953	I	I
Deusingius	6 288	965	I	I
Digby	10 ^o 1 ^b	990	I	I
Donne	6 99	1075	I	I
Euonymus	250	1307	I	I
Graffair	6 6	924 ^a	I	I
Gondibert	—	—	—	—

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
Grobian	⁶ ₂₃₈	936	I	I
Harvey	⁶ ₁₈₃	1398	I	I
Heer	⁶ ₂₄₉	1407	I	I
Heurnius	—	1457 ^b	I	I
Horne 2	⁶ ₁₀₄ ⁶ ₂₅₉	1513, 1514	2	2
Hogeland	⁶ ₂₄₃	1472	I	I
Justin	—	1602 ^a	I	I
Kircher	—	1642 ^b	I	I
Lettres port.	—	51 ^b	I	I
Languedelius	⁶ ₂₀₃	1679	I	I
Lauremberg	⁶ ₉₀	1687	I	I
Lumen	⁶ ₁₄₀	687	I	I
Magnenus	⁶ ₂₁₅	1869	I	I
Moulton	⁶ _{92a}	2060	I	I
Marchetis	⁶ ₂₆	1901	I	I
Machiavel	—	1852	I	I
Osborne	⁶ ₄₆	2145	I	I
Pinaeus	⁶ ₂₃₂	2308	I	I
Pliny	⁶ _{262a}	2349	I	I
Pascal	⁶ _{2a}	2223	I	I
Pisanel	⁷ ₃₉₁	2310	I	I
Pisanel	⁶ ₂₀₈	2311	I	I
Renefort	⁶ ₇	2466	I	I
Rawleigh	⁶ ₂₇₆	2437	I	I
Scheider	⁶ ₂₄₄	2580	I	I
Schookius	⁶ ₂₆₄	2581	I	I
Seneca 4	⁶ ₁₉₂ ⁶ ₂₁₆ ⁶ ₂₁₈	2613, 2616	2	4
Sylvius	—	2817 ^a	I	I
Thompson	—	2891 ^a	I	I
Terry	⁶ ₁	2857	I	I
Valentine 2	⁶ ₅₀ ⁶ ₃₈	3035, 3043	2	2

Author	Later Press-mark	Catalogue No.	Titles	Vols
Veldhusius 2	—	3063 ^a , 3063 ^b	2	2
Vallesius	—	3043 ^a	I	I
Vorme	⁶ ₁₈₃	3105	I	I
Valerius	—	1947 ^a	I	I
— 12 ^o 5	—	—	—	—
Albertus	⁵ ₁₈	44	I	I
Bacon	⁶ ₁₇₂	169	I	I
Cicero	—	721 ^a	I	I
Deusingius	⁶ ₂₀₇	954	I	I
Earle	—	Not identified	I	I
Everard	⁵ ₁	1082	I	I
Hyppocrates	⁵ ₂₂	335	I	I
Pharmac.	—	2295	I	I
Sleidan	⁵ ₂₀	2690	I	I
Terrentius	⁶ ₂₇₄	2853	I	I
Hippocrat	—	1457 ^b	I	I
Test. Gr: Sedan	⁴ ₅	2874	I	I
Epictetus	⁴ ₆	1059	I	I
Lipsius	³ ₁	1763	I	I
Psalmes	—	2772 ^a	I	I
TOTAL			288	305

APPENDIX II

A. BOOKS BEARING LOCKE'S PARAPH ✱

(See above pages 41, 63)

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
109	Arcæus	Cure of wounds
2948	Aubert de Versé	Liberty of conscience
175	Bacon	Posthumous pieces
220	Bartholinus	On the comet
330*	—	Bible. 1682
332	—	Bibliothèque universelle. Vols. 13-19
415	Boyle	Hydrostatical paradoxes [Sir Geoffrey Keynes]
443	Boyle	New experiments
444	Boyle	Sceptical chymist [Houghton Library, Harvard]
447	Boyle	Spring and weight of the air
457	Boyle	Things above reason
550	Buxtorf	Hebrew grammar
601*	Descartes	Philosophical works
953	Deusingius	Food of animals
1074	Eugalenus	On scurvy
1090	Fairfax	Bulk and selvedge of the world
1154	Forbes	Christian doctrine
1398	Harvey	On the generation of living creatures
1417	Helmont	Rise of medicine
1446*	Heylyn	France painted to the life [Sir Geoffrey Keynes]
1677	Langius	Medical letters
763	Le Clerc	Logic
764	Le Clerc	Ontology and pneumatology
2004	Leon, of Modena	Jewish ceremonies
1291	Locke	On government, French ed.
2083	Newton	Principia [Trinity College, Cambridge]
2152	Ovalle	History of China
2030	Pascal	Provincial letters [Bodleian Library]

APPENDIX II

279

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
2439	Ranchinus	Two tracts
2614	Seneca	Tragedies
2466	Souchu de Rennefort	Madagascar
2766	Steno	Eye, nose, ear
360	Stephens and Bobart	Catalogue of Oxford Botanical Gardens [Bodleian Library]
3043*	Valesius	Way of healing
3062	Velschius	Medical cures and observations
3100	Voiture	Works

All the above works are at Oak Spring, except for those whose location is stated above.

B. INTERLEAVED BOOKS IN LOCKE'S LIBRARY

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
307	—	Bible. 2 vols
309	—	Bible
358	Blount	Judgement of famous authors
460	Boyle	General history of the air
547	Busby	Greek grammar
1074	Eugalenus	On scurvy
1111	Ferrarius	Geographical dictionary
1539*	Hyde	Bodleian Catalogue
1577	Johnson	Chemical dictionary
697	Locke	Reasonableness of Christianity [Houghton Library, Harvard]
2294	—	Pharmacopoeia
2468	Reuden	On a purging gum
2862	—	New Testament, Greek
2864	—	New Testament, French
2934	Toinard	Gospel harmony

These works, except for 2468 and 2862, were interleaved for Locke and contain annotations by him. Nos. 2468 and 2862 were probably interleaved by their previous owners, 2862 being heavily annotated, possibly by Limborth.

All the above works, except 697, are at Oak Spring.

C. BOOKS WITH NOTES AND/OR PAGE LISTS
BY LOCKE (Excluding price-indications)

(See above pages 38-39)

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
16	Acuña	River Amazon
30	Aelian	History
124	Arnauld	On true and false ideas
149	Auda	Miracle medical cures
1705	Baker	On learning
196	Barbette	Surgical-anatomical works
205	Barebon	Coining new money lighter [New York Public Library]
209	Barrême	Tariffs and accounts in commerce [Marshall Library, Cambridge]
210	Barros	Asia
221	Bartholinus	On lymphatic glands
227	Baxter	Government of Bishops
228	Baxter	Narrative of his life
254	Bekker	Enchanted world
294	Betus	On blood
307	—	Bible, English
309	—	Bible, English
328	—	Bible, Latin
332	—	Bibliothèque universelle
358	Blount	Judgement of famous authors
388	Bordelon	Education
393	Borelli	Movement of animals
407	Bourges	Voyage of the Bishop of Beirut
460	Boyle	General history of the air
447	Boyle	New physical-mechanical experiments
444	Boyle	Sceptical chymist [Houghton Library, Harvard]
477	Brand	Embassy into China

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
498	Brown	Travels in Hungary etc.
1799	Burnet	3rd Remarks on Locke's Essay [Yale]
547	Busby	Greek grammar
1530	Butler	Hudibras [Jerome P. Webster Library, Columbia University]
566	Calamy	Abridgement of Baxter
688	—	China
693	Choisy	Voyage to Siam
3118	Churchill	Voyages
721*	Cicero	Letters to friends
140	—	Confessions of faith
3117	Constantin de Renneville	Voyages
860	Coste	Prince of Condé
900	Cumberland	Jewish measures and weights
920	Davanzati	Discourse upon coins [Goldsmiths' Library, Senate House, London]
942	Dellon	Voyage to East Indies
954	Deusingius	Movement of heart and blood
980	Dodart	History of plants
2028	Dumont	Voyage to Levant
1024	Edwards	On atheism
1028	Edwards	Vindication of Christian Faith
1060	Episcopius	Theological works
1066	Espagne	Errors in religion
512	Esquemeling	Buccaneers of America
1074	Eugalenus	On scurvy
2731	—	Fable of the lion's share
1111	Ferrarius	Geographical dictionary
2133	Fontenelle	History of oracles
1203	Gabelchover	On medicine
1205	Gage	Survey of West Indies
1245	Gervaise	Siam

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
1254-70	Glauber	Works
1965	González de Mendoza	China
1363	Guillet de St-George	Lacedaemon
1375	Hales	Tracts
1389	Harris	Universal deluge
1417	Helmont	Rise of medicine
1418	Helvicus	Historical and chronological theatre
1447	Hickeringill	Gregory Father Greybeard
1539*	Hyde	Bodleian Catalogue
1555	—	Irenicum Magnum
1577	Johnson	Chemical dictionary
1603	Justin, Martyr	Works
558	—	Kabbala denudata
1691	Kemblewell	Christian obedience
1928	La Marinière	Voyage to Northern Countries
2286	La Peyrère	Iceland
648	Le Cène	On a new French version of the Bible
769	Le Clerc	Critical art
776	Le Clerc	Gospel harmony
2482	Le Clerc	Life of Richelieu
767	Le Clerc	On unbelief
774	Le Clerc	St Jerome
778	Le Clercq	New account of Gaspesia
828	Le Comte	Letter on Chinese ceremonies
1765	Lister	Journey to Paris
1780	Lobo	River Nile
697	Locke	Reasonableness of Christianity [Houghton Library, Harvard]
1284	López de Gómara	West Indies
1816	Lowndes	Amendment of silver coins
1886	Malpighi	Structure of internal organs
1912	Marmol Caravajal	Africa

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
1923	Martin	Voyage to St Kilda
1926	Martini	China
1949	Mayerberg	Journey to Moscow
1950	Mayerne	Arthritis
2002	Mocquet	Voyages [King's College, Cambridge]
2005	Moebius	Medicine
258	Monginot	Curing by quinquina
831	Newman	Concordance
2863	—	New Testament, French
2864	—	New Testament, French
2869	—	New Testament, Spanish
1544	Nye	Congregational Churches
2151	Outram	On sacrifice
2152	Ovalle	History of China
2160	Ovington	Voyage to Suratt
2235	Patrick	Jesus and the Resurrection
2258	Perrault	On arts and sciences
2294	—	Pharmacopocia
3197	—	Pharmacopocia
2300	Philippus	Voyage in the Orient
2531	Pidou de St Olon	Morocco
2386	Prideaux	Imposture in the life of Mahomet
938	Prideaux	Letter to the Deists
2448	Ray	Travels and voyages
2486	Riverius	Medical observations
2554	Sanson	Persia
2578	Schmid	New Testament Concordance
2587	Schouten	Voyage in the Indies
2610	Seller	Antiquities of Palmyra
2627	Sergeant	Method to science
2626	Sergeant	Solid philosophy asserted [St John's College, Cambridge]

Catalogue No.	Author	Short English Title
1119	Silva y Figueroa	Persia
2692	Sloane	Catalogue of plants in Jamaica
2701	Smith	Select discourses
360	Stephens and Bobart	Catalogue of Oxford Botanical Gardens [Bodleian Library]
2775	Stillingfleet	Defence of Discourse concerning idolatry
2814	Sydenham	Medical observations
2813	Sydenham	Works
2821	Tachard	Voyage to Siam
2822	Tachard	Second voyage to Siam
2857	Terry	Voyage to East-India
2888	Thévenot	Voyage to the Levant
2927	Tindall	Power of the magistrate
2934	Toinard	Gospel harmony
2939	Toland	Amyntor
2936	Toland	Christianity not mysterious
2960	Tonti	Discoveries in North America
2978	Trapham	State of health in Jamaica
1188	Trichet du Fresne	Catalogue of his library
1560	—	Truth brought to light
3000	Tyrrell	Of the law of nature
3062	Velschius	Medical cures and observations
3086	Villamont	Voyages
3088	Villault	Coasts of Africa called Guinea
3124	Wallace	Isles of Orkney
3128	Walther	Medicine
3142	Whiston	New theory of the earth
3154	Wierus	Medical observations
3156	Willes	Travels in West and East Indies [Christ Church, Oxford]
3168	Windet	On the state of the dead
3179	Woodward	Natural history of the earth

All these works are at Oak Spring, except for those whose present location is shown above.

APPENDIX III

SOURCES OF NON-HYDE ENTRIES IN LOCKE'S LIBRARY CATALOGUE

Though most of these 685 works may be found in more than one of Locke's catalogues or book-lists, only one source has been indicated below. The appearance of a title in the auxiliary catalogues in Locke's library alongside Hyde (see above pages 32-33) seems the most reliable source, other than Hyde, but registration of a title at Locke's death in 1704 in the King-Masham lists by independent witnesses represents a guarantee of a book's having been part of the library. Where a book appears both in the auxiliary catalogues and in the King-Masham lists, the catalogues only have been indicated.

A. *Catalogues auxiliary to Hyde*

34 titles

(i) MS. Locke f. 16. Catalogue of Locke's library made in 1693 with additions to 1697 (see above page 32).
23^a, 23^b, 148^a, 271^a, 334^a, 349^b, 890^a, 917^a, 1285^b, 1562^a, 1848^a, 2049^a, 2064^a, 2064^b, 2064^c, 2064^d, 2256^a, 2437^a, 2465^a, 2737^b, 2836^a, 3185^a, 3187^a.

(ii) MS. Locke c. 3. Catalogue of Locke's library made from the above in 1697 and kept up-to-date by Locke until 1704 (see above page 33).
709^a, 1594^a, 1608^a, 1783^a, 1786^a, 1802^a, 2077^a, 2451^a, 2685^a, 2966^a, 3022^a.

B. *Posthumous Book-lists*. MS. Locke c. 35

The King-Masham lists showing the division of Locke's library at his death (see above pages 8-9).

(i) Folios 30-46: books bequeathed to Peter King. 101 titles
78^a, 78^b, 78^c, 85^a, 89^a, 104^a, 108^a, 113^a, 131^a, 143^b, 208^a, 390^a, 395^a, 395^b, 551^a, 568^a, 575^a, 575^b, 595^a, 601^a, 624^b, 645^b, 682^a, 721^a, 721^b, 730^a, 747^a, 831^b, 841^a, 907^a, 1001^a, 1003^a, 1003^b, 1003^c, 1075^a, 1082^a, 1087^a, 1098^a, 1100^b, 1108^a, 1200^a, 1200^b, 1209^a, 1272^a, 1285^a, 1293^a, 1305^a, 1372^a, 1383^a, 1398^a, 1439^a, 1451^a, 1457^a, 1493^a, 1534^a, 1539^a, 1554^a, 1556^a, 1571^a, 1595^a, 1609^a, 1642^b, 1650^b, 1651^a, 1689^a, 1706^a, 1718^b, 1752^a, 1753^a, 1819^a, 1847^a, 1902^a, 1915^a, 1965^a, 1996^a, 2257^a, 2321^b, 2350^a, 2434^a, 2444^a, 2469^a, 2483^a, 2523^a, 2548^a, 2601^a, 2629^a, 2703^a, 2753^a, 2794^a, 2806^a, 2822^b, 2920^a, 2984^a, 3031^a, 3043^a, 3150^a, 3155^a, 3165^a, 3165^b, 3169^a, 3195^a.
(ii) Folios 47-66: books bequeathed to Francis Cudworth Masham. 136 titles
1^a, 26^a, 80^a, 80^b, 82^a, 87^a, 97^a, 112^a, 143^a, 202^a, 202^b, 214^a, 221^b, 221^c, 235^a, 251^a, 330^b, 330^c, 349^a, 396^a, 487^a, 569^a, 590^a, 624^a, 627^a, 642^a, 654^a, 669^a, 702^a, 721^a, 741^a, 808^a, 819^b, 856^a, 871^a, 883^a, 918^a.

954^a, 963^a, 977^a, 980^a, 992^a, 1002^a, 1003^a, 1003^f,
1023^a, 1030^a, 1060^a, 1066^a, 1083^a, 1100^a, 1114^a,
1138^a, 1189^a, 1241^a, 1250^a, 1284^a, 1285^a, 1302^a,
1310^a, 1329^a, 1347^a, 1374^a, 1379^a, 1430^a, 1446^b,
1467^a, 1487^a, 1487^b, 1522^a, 1525^a, 1538^a, 1539^b,
1624^a, 1650^a, 1697^a, 1710^a, 1803^b, 1822^b, 1843^a,
1869^a, 1891^a, 1908^a, 1938^a, 1952^a, 1965^a, 1966^b.

C. Other Book-lists

- (i) MS. Locke b. 2. Lists of books acquired by Locke, bills, letters and other papers about the purchase, storing, and dispatch of books, 1674-1704 (see above pages 14, 16).

255 titles

35^a, 51^a, 122^a, 143^a, 157^a, 186^a, 186^b, 186^c, 186^d,
202^b, 216^a, 221^a, 222^b, 237^a, 281^a, 336^a, 349^a, 407^a,
407^b, 461^a, 495^a, 551^a, 551^b, 569^a, 585^a, 614^a, 616^c,
623^a, 639^a, 645^a, 683^a, 710^a, 721^d, 721^e, 721^f, 721^g,
721^h, 721ⁱ, 721^j, 721^k, 721^l, 721^m, 721ⁿ, 721^o, 721^p,
736^b, 742^a, 779^a, 819^a, 831^a, 836^a, 844^a, 845^b, 856^b,
860^a, 884^a, 904^a, 918^b, 935^a, 939^a, 957^b, 961^a, 973^a,
986^a, 986^b, 991^a, 994^a, 1001^b, 1002^a, 1002^b, 1003^b,
1018^a, 1031^a, 1060^a, 1064^a, 1064^b, 1069^a, 1082^b,
1103^a, 1108^b, 1111^a, 1138^b, 1148^a, 1148^b, 1173^a,
1174^a, 1176^a, 1206^a, 1232^a, 1232^b, 1272^b, 1281^a,
1283^a, 1303^a, 1304^a, 1312^a, 1312^b, 1319^a, 1340^a,
1358^a, 1360^a, 1370^a, 1370^b, 1381^a, 1396^b, 1402^a,
1407^a, 1410^a, 1416^b, 1420^a, 1457^a, 1457^b, 1466^a,
1466^b, 1512^a, 1522^a, 1522^b, 1522^c, 1522^d, 1531^a,
1532^b, 1532^c, 1544^a, 1551^a, 1553^a, 1567^a, 1567^b,
1583^a, 1608^b, 1642^a, 1645^a, 1650^a, 1650^b, 1657^a,
1680^a, 1685^a, 1685^b, 1685^c, 1695^a, 1704^a, 1714^a,
1718^a, 1738^a, 1747^a, 1772^a, 1802^a, 1808^a, 1808^b,
1833^a, 1837^a, 1863^a, 1883^a, 1891^b, 1891^c, 1895^a,
1898^a, 1902^b, 1906^a, 1965^b, 1966^a, 1987^b, 2006^a,
2008^a, 2008^b, 2008^c, 2029^a, 2054^a, 2054^b, 2060^a,
2064^a, 2065^a, 2074^a, 2074^b, 2074^c, 2074^d, 2074^e,

2000^a, 2097^a, 2148^a, 2176^a, 2179^a, 2185^a, 2192^a,
2226^a, 2240^a, 2308^a, 2331^a, 2385^a, 2394^a, 2426^a,
2433^a, 2479^a, 2511^b, 2511^c, 2542^a, 2555^a, 2565^a,
2600^b, 2601^a, 2601^b, 2741^a, 2751^b, 2763^a, 2769^a,
2772^a, 2792^b, 2794^c, 2809^a, 2817^c, 2822^a, 2901^a,
2958^a, 2980^a, 2986^a, 2993^a, 2994^a, 3003^a, 3063^c,
3063^d, 3074^a, 3120^b, 3128^a, 3128^c, 3163^a, 3190^b.

2074^f, 2074^g, 2074^h, 2087^a, 2096^a, 2100^a, 2101^a,
2126^a, 2159^b, 2159^c, 2166^a, 2178^a, 2180^a, 2200^a,
2220^a, 2227^b, 2228^a, 2230^a, 2278^a, 2282^a, 2295^a,
2321^a, 2338^a, 2365^a, 2372^a, 2393^a, 2411^a, 2423^a,
2443^a, 2450^a, 2460^a, 2477^a, 2491^a, 2502^a, 2504^a,
2511^a, 2530^a, 2534^a, 2557^a, 2562^a, 2563^a, 2570^a,
2597^a, 2597^b, 2600^a, 2616^a, 2616^b, 2633^a, 2673^a,
2682^a, 2719^a, 2766^a, 2767^a, 2792^a, 2794^a, 2805^a,
2806^b, 2816^a, 2827^a, 2827^b, 2827^c, 2827^d, 2827^e,
2828^a, 2851^a, 2873^b, 2887^a, 2889^a, 2962^a, 3051^a,
3063^d, 3070^a, 3082^a, 3111^a, 3114^a, 3120^a, 3128^b,
3177^a, 3190^a.

- (ii) MSS. Locke f. 1-3, 5, 9. Locke's diaries, 1675-1688. 15 titles

86^a, 268^a, 373^a, 569^a, 653^a, 664^a, 924^a, 952^a,
1590^a, 1763^a, 1987^a, 2085^a, 2454^a, 2460^b, 2856^b.

- (iii) MS. Locke c. 44. *Adversaria physica*. Catalogue made by Locke, 1689-91, of his books in London (see above pages 16 and 26).

40 titles

51^b, 142^a, 212^a, 221^c, 503^a, 510^a, 627^b, 777^a,
795^a, 1051^a, 1122^a, 1138^a, 1158^a, 1198^a, 1532^a,
1588^a, 1651^b, 1651^c, 1651^d, 1803^a, 1811^b, 1994^a,
1999^a, 2036^a, 2040^b, 2047^a, 2061^a, 2159^a, 2185^a,
2201^a, 2222^a, 2255^a, 2358^a, 2358^b, 2366^a, 2500^a,
2702^a, 2751^a, 3102^a, 3126^a.

- (iv) MS. Locke f. 17. List of Locke's books with Tyrrell, 1691 (see above page 17). 46 titles

250^a, 286^a, 473^a, 501^a, 501^b, 513^a, 669^b, 674^a, 2451^a, 2617^a, 2643^a, 2664^a, 2793^a, 2800^a, 2817^a,
845^a, 1156^a, 1351^a, 1396^a, 1451^b, 1457^b, 1457^c, 2817^b, 2817^c, 2891^a, 3063^a, 3063^b, 3063^c, 3063^d,
1552^a, 1588^b, 1602^a, 1657^b, 1685^c, 1685^d, 1685^e, 3104^a, 3165^a, 3172^a,
1834^a, 1947^a, 1969^a, 2040^a, 2140^a, 2185^a, 2385^b.

D. Physical Survival of Books and Pamphlets not appearing in Hyde

These sources have been used only when works which almost certainly formed part of Locke's library at some time of his life have not been traced in the catalogues and lists above. Survival of other books confirms some entries in Sections A-C. 58 titles

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

1312^b (see page 52).

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.
2^a.

Goldsmiths' Library, Senate House, University of London.

93^a, 644^a, 1067^a, 1727^a, 1916^a, 2395^a, 2451^d,
2664^b, 2716^a (see pages 50-53).

Houghton Library, Harvard University.
178^a.

Sir Geoffrey Keynes.

1446^a (see page 41).

Oak Spring, Upperville, Virginia.

222^a, 330^a, 558^a, 562^a, 721^a, 823^a, 943^a, 963^a,
963^b, 980^b, 1066^a, 1222^a, 1222^b, 1432^a, 1811^a,
1822^a, 2227^a, 2245^a, 2859^a, 2873^a, 2898^a, 3096^a.

Yale University Library.

6^a, 159^a, 255^a, 290^a, 614^b, 912^a, 936^a, 957^a, 974^a,
975^a, 1032^a, 1526^a, 1962^a, 2387^a, 2451^b, 2451^c,
2664^a, 2737^a, 2737^b, 2800^b, 2850^a, 29 3^b, 3088^a
(see pages 50, 52-53).

Unam quamlibet rem vix ad perfectū adducit assidua vigilia. 1658.

Note in Locke's hand on fly-leaf of 1398.

Harvey, *Exercitationes de generatione animalium* [1398]. (Seneca, *Epist. mor.*: 69.)

APPENDIX IV

DIVISION OF LOCKE'S LIBRARY: KING-MASHAM LISTS

A. KING MOIRTY

10, 16, 18, 23^{a-c}, 30, 39-41, 44-45, 51, 53-57, 59, 74-77, 78^{a-c}, 80, 83, 85^a, 87, 89^a, 101-2, 104-5, 108^a-9, 113-14, 117-18, 120, 122, 124-5, 129, 131^a, 133, 140, 143, 143^b, 148, 149-50, 156, 158, 160, 162-3, 166, 169-75, 186, 189, 192-5, 197, 210, 212, 214, 216, 221, 227-8, 230, 234, 242, 248-9, 254, 258, 261-2, 264, 268, 269, 271, 281, 283, 285-6, 287-9, 293-5, 298^a, 300, 303-5, 307-9, 311, 319-20, 325-8, 330, 331-2, 340, 346, 349, 352, 358-60, 364-5, 367-70, 372, 374, 385-6, 388, 390^a-1, 393-4, 395^{a-b}, 398, 401, 403, 405-7, 412, 432, 443-5, 447, 453, 457, 460, 465, 470, 476-9, 498, 512, 515, 517, 520, 526, 541, 544-5, 547, 549-51^a, 558-8^a, 560, 562, 566-7, 568^a, 571-2, 575^a-7, 579, 582, 585, 588-9, 595^a, 600, 601^a, 604, 609, 613-14, 624^b, 628, 641-2, 645^b-6, 648-9, 655, 657, 670-2, 674, 675, 678-81, 682^a, 684-90, 692-3, 697-700, 704, 711-12, 715, 718-20, 721^{a-b}, 724-5, 729, 732-4, 736^a, 737, 740, 746, 747^a-8, 752, 756, 758-9, 761-4, 767, 769, 771-2, 774-7, 778, 785-6, 788-9, 792, 795, 800, 804, 808, 811, 819, 826, 828-31, 831^b-2, 835, 841^a-2, 845, 853, 859-60, 866-7, 872-3, 875, 878, 882, 884, 886-7, 891-2, 900, 904, 907-7^a, 917, 918, 921, 926, 938, 941-3, 950-1, 953-4, 955, 958, 963, 965, 968, 970-1, 976, 980, 983, 990, 992, 994, 996, 1001^a, 1003^a, 1003^{b-d}, 1011, 1020, 1022, 1024, 1026, 1028, 1033, 1037, 1054-5, 1058-60, 1064, 1066, 1068, 1070, 1074-6, 1080, 1082^a, 1085, 1087^a, 1090, 1096, 1098^a, 1100^b, 1103, 1106, 1108-8^a, 1109, 1111, 1114, 1117, 1119-20, 1122, 1123-4, 1126, 1130, 1140, 1146, 1149, 1154, 1156, 1157, 1169-70, 1181, 1200^{a-b}, 1203, 1205, 1209^a, 1211, 1219, 1222, 1233, 1235, 1240-1, 1242, 1244-6, 1248, 1252, 1272-2^a, 1273, 1275, 1277, 1279, 1284, 1285^a, 1288, 1291, 1293-4, 1302, 1303, 1305^a, 1308-9, 1312, 1315, 1317, 1321, 1323-4, 1327, 1329, 1333, 1339, 1350-1, 1353, 1355, 1357, 1362-3, 1366, 1370, 1372-2^a, 1374, 1375-9, 1382, 1383^a, 1386, 1388-9, 1391, 1396, 1398-8^a, 1404-5, 1417-18, 1420, 1421-2, 1425-8, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1439^a-41, 1447, 1451^a, 1454, 1457, 1457^c, 1462, 1467, 1469, 1473, 1477, 1480, 1482-3, 1485, 1487, 1488, 1490, 1493^a, 1496, 1498, 1500, 1502, 1506, 1508-9, 1511, 1514, 1517-19, 1522, 1524-5, 1528, 1530, 1533, 1534^a, 1536-8, 1539-9^a, 1540-1, 1544, 1545, 1551, 1554-6^a, 1560, 1568, 1571-2, 1577, 1585, 1588, 1593, 1594^a, 1595^a, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1607, 1609^a, 1613-16, 1630-1, 1633-4, 1636, 1640-1, 1642^b-3, 1648-50, 1650^b, 1651^a, 1653, 1655, 1658, 1661, 1671, 1674-5, 1677, 1679-80, 1684, 1689^a-90, 1695, 1697, 1698-1701, 1703, 1705, 1706^a, 1710, 1718, 1718^b-19, 1721-2, 1731, 1736, 1738, 1746-7, 1748, 1752^a, 1753^a, 1755, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1769-70, 1772, 1776, 1780-1, 1783, 1785-6, 1792, 1796, 1798, 1801, 1802^b-3, 1810, 1812, 1814, 1816, 1818-20, 1823-4, 1829, 1833, 1838-40, 1847-7^a, 1856, 1867, 1870-2, 1874-6, 1886, 1888, 1890, 1895, 1896-7,

APPENDIX IV

289

1900, 1902-2^a, 1905, 1908, 1911-12, 1915^a, 1917, 1919, 1921, 1923-7, 1932-3, 1936, 1938, 1939, 1948-52, 1959-61, 1964-5^a, 1972, 1976, 1987, 1996^a, 1998, 2004-5, 2012, 2016, 2028, 2034, 2040, 2042-7, 2050-1, 2053, 2055, 2057, 2059, 2062, 2070, 2076, 2077^a, 2079-80, 2085, 2090-1, 2096, 2107-9, 2115, 2127-8, 2133, 2141, 2149-51, 2154, 2156-8, 2162-3, 2167-8, 2173, 2177, 2182-3, 2185, 2201, 2222, 2223, 2229, 2231, 2234-6, 2240, 2243, 2246, 2251, 2257^a-8, 2262, 2266, 2268, 2273, 2275, 2277-8, 2280, 2286, 2288, 2293-4, 2299-2300, 2302, 2306, 2308, 2311-12, 2314, 2321^a, 2332-3, 2336-7, 2342, 2344, 2347, 2350^a, 2357-8, 2361-3, 2366, 2367-9, 2372, 2373, 2378, 2380-1, 2403, 2405, 2407, 2409, 2425, 2427, 2429, 2431, 2433, 2434-4^a, 2439, 2441, 2444^a-5, 2447-9, 2451, 2456, 2462, 2464, 2468, 2469^a-70, 2472, 2474-6, 2479, 2480-3^a, 2486, 2497-500, 2502, 2508-10, 2518, 2520, 2523-3^a, 2525, 2531, 2533, 2535-6, 2541, 2546, 2548-8^a, 2550, 2552, 2554, 2561, 2564, 2566-7, 2571, 2573, 2577-8, 2581-2, 2587-90, 2599, 2601^a-3, 2606-10, 2612-14, 2616, 2624, 2626-7, 2629^a, 2631-3, 2634, 2638, 2657, 2662, 2668, 2670, 2685, 2689-90, 2692, 2698, 2701-2, 2703-3^a, 2712, 2718, 2723-5, 2739, 2752, 2753^a, 2760-2, 2764, 2766, 2767, 2771, 2774-5, 2779, 2787, 2792, 2793, 2794^b, 2797-8, 2803, 2806-6^a, 2807, 2812-14, 2821-2, 2822^a, 2824-5, 2827, 2832, 2835, 2837, 2843, 2847-8, 2850, 2852-3, 2855, 2857, 2860-6, 2868-9, 2872, 2874, 2876, 2879-80, 2882-4, 2888-9, 2890-1, 2894-5, 2897, 2900, 2902-4, 2906-7, 2909-13, 2920^a, 2923, 2927, 2934, 2936, 2939-43, 2945, 2947, 2948, 2960-1, 2963, 2968, 2978, 2980, 2981-4^a, 2987, 2993, 2998-3000, 3004, 3007-10, 3022^a, 3030, 3031^a-2, 3036, 3043^a, 3045-6, 3049, 3052, 3057, 3059, 3062, 3064, 3067-8, 3073-4, 3075, 3085-8, 3098,

B. MASHAM MOIRTY

1^a, 2, 5, 7-9, 26^a, 31-35, 37, 43, 47-50, 52, 58, 71, 78, 79, 80^{a-b}, 82^a, 84, 87^a, 89, 91-92, 97^a-98, 100, 103, 106-7, 112-12^a, 119, 132, 136, 141, 143^a-4, 147, 153, 155-6, 160-1, 164-5, 168, 178, 180-2, 185, 200-1, 202^a, 202^b-3, 205-6, 208-9, 213, 214^a-15, 217, 219, 221^a, 221^b, 223-5, 229, 232-3, 235-7, 239-41, 243-5, 250, 251^a, 255, 256, 263, 266-7, 270, 276, 278-80, 282, 290, 291, 292, 296-7, 301, 312, 317-18, 329, 330^{a-c}, 332, 335, 337, 341^a-4, 347, 349^a, 351, 353-7, 361-2, 366, 374, 376-84, 389-90, 396^a, 400, 402, 404-5, 408-11, 413-15, 420, 425, 438-9, 441, 448, 450, 454, 459, 461, 462, 466-9, 471, 473, 475, 480, 484, 486, 487^a, 490-1, 495, 496-7, 499-501, 502, 505, 508-9, 519, 528-30, 532-3, 537-9, 542, 559, 563, 568, 569^a, 573, 575, 578, 587, 590-90^a, 591, 593-4, 596, 599, 610-11, 615, 617-18, 623, 624^a, 626-7^a, 629-30, 632-4, 638-9, 640, 642^a, 644, 645, 650-1, 654^a, 656, 662-4, 668-9^a, 677, 682, 700-1, 702^a, 710, 713-14, 716-17, 721, 721^a, 722-3, 730, 736, 738-9, 741^a, 743, 745, 747, 749, 751, 754-5, 760, 765-6, 770, 773, 775, 779, 784, 787, 796, 802, 805-6, 808^a, 810, 814, 799, 784, 787, 796, 802, 805-6, 808^a, 810, 814, 819^a, 821-3, 827, 833, 838, 848-50, 854, 856-6^a, 857-8, 861, 865, 868, 871^a, 881, 883^a, 885, 892-4, 896, 898, 901-3, 908, 910-12, 913-14, 916, 918^a, 922, 927, 931, 936, 938, 944, 946, 948, 951, 954^a, 960-1, 962, 963^a-4, 966, 969, 972-3, 974, 977^a, 980^a, 981-2, 987, 991, 992^a, 995, 1002^a, 1003^a-1, 1009, 1013, 1019, 1021, 1023^a, 1026-7,

1029, 1030^a, 1032, 1038, 1040-1, 1044, 1052-3, 1057, 1060^{a-b}, 1061, 1063, 1067, 1071-3, 1077, 1079, 1082, 1083^{a-4}, 1086, 1088, 1093-5, 1098, 1099-100^a, 1102, 1104, 1110, 1112-13, 1114^a, 116, 1128, 1137-8^a, 1141, 1143-5, 1147-8, 1153, 1159-60, 1162-3, 1167, 1171, 1174, 1176, 1180, 1183, 1187, 1189-92, 1197-8, 1199, 1201-2, 1204, 1207-9, 1210, 1213-16, 1221, 1225-6, 1231-2, 1234, 1237-9, 1241^a, 1243, 1247, 1249, 1250^{a-1}, 1253, 1281, 1283, 1284^{a-5}, 1287, 1289, 1293, 1300-1, 1302^a, 1304, 1306-7, 1310^a, 1313, 1320-2, 1326, 1328, 1329-9^a, 1340, 1341-5, 1347-7^a, 1349-50, 1354, 1356, 1358, 1359, 1364-5, 1371, 1374^a, 1379^{a-81}, 1387, 1397, 1399, 1406-7, 1408, 1413-16, 1423, 1429, 1430^{a-1}, 1434-5, 1437, 1439, 1443-6, 1446^b, 1449-50, 1452, 1457, 1459-61, 1465-6, 1467^a, 1470, 1472, 1474, 1481, 1484, 1487^{a-b}, 1494-5, 1497, 1499, 1503-4, 1507, 1510, 1512, 1513, 1515, 1521, 1522^a, 1525^{a-6}, 1527, 1531, 1535, 1538^a, 1539^b, 1542, 1547, 1557, 1559, 1564, 1567, 1573, 1579-80, 1583, 1586-7, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1602, 1605-6, 1609, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1624^{a-6}, 1629, 1632, 1638, 1642, 1644-5, 1650^a, 1651, 1652, 1656-7, 1662-6, 1668-70, 1676, 1678, 1681, 1687, 1691-4, 1696, 1697^a, 1702, 1704, 1707-9, 1710^a, 1714, 1716, 1741-2, 1744-5, 1749-50, 1752, 1756, 1758, 1760, 1762, 1764, 1766, 1773, 1782, 1784, 1787, 1790, 1800, 1802, 1803^b, 1807, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1817, 1822^b, 1825, 1830, 1834, 1835, 1837, 1841, 1843-4, 1848-8^a, 1858, 1860, 1864, 1869-70, 1873, 1881, 1885, 1891-1^a, 1893, 1897-8, 1901, 1903-4, 1906, 1908^a, 1914, 1918, 1922, 1928, 1934, 1938^{a-40}, 1942-3, 1945, 1947, 1952^{a-3}, 1955, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1965^c, 1966^b, 1968, 1971, 1973-4, 1977-8, 1982-4, 1988, 1993-4, 1997, 2000^a, 2002, 2006, 2007-8, 2009, 2011, 2015, 2022, 2026, 2029, 2030, 2033,

2036, 2037-9, 2041, 2048-9, 2054, 2060, 2063-4, 2067, 2072, 2074, 2077, 2078, 2081-3, 2086-7, 2089, 2092, 2094-5, 2097^{a-2100}, 2101, 2102, 2105, 2115-16, 2124-6, 2130, 2139, 2143, 2145, 2148-8^a, 2152, 2155, 2165-6, 2169, 2172, 2174, 2176-6^a, 2178, 2179^{a-80}, 2184, 2185^b, 2192-4, 2196, 2198-9, 2202, 2217, 2226^{a-7}, 2230, 2232-3, 2237, 2240^{a-2}, 2245, 2252, 2254-5, 2256-6^a, 2259, 2261, 2263-4, 2269, 2274, 2279, 2284-5, 2287, 2289-92, 2301, 2303, 2307, 2308^a, 2313, 2316, 2319, 2327-9, 2331^a, 2335, 2343, 2345-6, 2349-50, 2359, 2370, 2374, 2376-8, 2385^a, 2394^a, 2399-400, 2402, 2404, 2406, 2408, 2411, 2426^a, 2430, 2432, 2433^a, 2437, 2438, 2440, 2448, 2450, 2453-4, 2458-9, 2463, 2466, 2472-3, 2477, 2478, 2479^a, 2487-91, 2494-5, 2503, 2511^{a-b}, 2514, 2517, 2521, 2526-30, 2532, 2538-40, 2542-2^a, 2544-5, 2553, 2555-5^a, 2560, 2562, 2563, 2565^a, 2568, 2570, 2572, 2574-6, 2583-5, 2591, 2597, 2599-600, 2600^b, 2601^{a-b}, 2615, 2618, 2628-9, 2637, 2643, 2659, 2666, 2672, 2686-7, 2691, 2694, 2704, 2715-16, 2719, 2722, 2726, 2738, 2741^a, 2743, 2745-8, 2750-1, 2751^b, 2755, 2759, 2763^a, 2765, 2769^a, 2772^{a-3}, 2776, 2778, 2780-1, 2788-91, 2792^b, 2794, 2794^a, 2804, 2808, 2809^a, 2813, 2815, 2817, 2817^c, 2818, 2820, 2822^a, 2823, 2826, 2828, 2829, 2834, 2838, 2842, 2844-5, 2849, 2851, 2854, 2856, 2858-9, 2871, 2873, 2875, 2878, 2886-7, 2892, 2896-8, 2901-1^a, 2908, 2922, 2928, 2937, 2941, 2948, 2958^a, 2967, 2969, 2980^a, 2986^a, 2993^a, 2994^a, 3001-3^a, 3010, 3023, 3028, 3033-5, 3042-3, 3047, 3050-1, 3058-9, 3063, 3063^c, 3063^a, 3066, 3069, 3071-2, 3074^a, 3084, 3091-3, 3095, 3097, 3100-2, 3109-11, 3114, 3120^{a-2}, 3126, 3128^a, 3128^{c-9}, 3131, 3135, 3139-40, 3144-5, 3148, 3155, 3158, 3163^{a-5}, 3166, 3171, 3181, 3185, 3186, 3188, 3190, 3190^{b-1}, 3193, 3195, 'Pamphlets', 'Nine bundles

of pamphlets'—not identifiable separately.

C. WORKS LISTED IN BOTH MOIETIES
156, 160, 332, 374, 405, 700, 775, 892, 938, 951,

1026, 1293, 1321, 1339, 1350, 1457, 1614, 1616, 1870, 1897, 1939, 1960, 2115, 2378, 2448, 2472, 2599, 2813, 2897, 2941, 2948, 3010, 3059.

APPENDIX V

SUBJECT INDEX OF LOCKE'S LIBRARY

Absinth, 1100^b.
 Académie Royale des Sciences, 1381.
 Accountancy, 811, 2033, 3074.
 Accounts, Public, 1523.
 Acts of Parliament. *See* Parliament.
 Adam, 884.
 Africa, 18, 122, 747, 1780, 1874, 1912, 2124. *See also under individual countries.*
 Agriculture, 639, 1070, 1241^a, 1430. *See also* Husbandry.
 Air, History of, 460; Motion, 445; Pollution, 1081; Pressure, 290, 414, 447, 462, 472; Qualities of, 432, 1489; Register, 1425; Relation with flame, 420.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, 352.
 Alchemy, 47-50, 60, 149, 155, 192-3, 456, 687, 704, 820, 1075-5^a, 1095, 1124, 1129-30, 1158, 1204, 1225-6, 1257-8, 1260, 1262-3, 1268-70, 1554, 1624^a, 1740, 1834-4^a, 1872, 1938, 2062, 2102-5, 2297, 2503, 2511^c, 2601^c, 2822^{a-b}, 2901^a, 2958^a, 2993^a, 3032-43, 3085, 3129. *See also* Chemistry, Magic, Medicine: Remedies and Treatment, Pharmacy.
 Algeria, 2494.
 Allegiance, 62-70, 138, 1573, 2110-13, 2645-51, 2654, 3132.
 Almanacs, 78^{a-c}, 568^a, 836^a, 841^a, 1209^a, 1571^a, 1753^a, 2054, 2257^a, 2483^a, 2984^a, 3150^a, 3177-7^a.
 Amazon, 16, 2167.
 Amber, 1644.

America, North and South, 276, 411, 510, 918-18^a, 1655-6, 2101-1^a, 2125; America, North, 40, 624, 793, 951, 1421-2, 1451, 1487, 1588, 1706, 2960; America, South, 83^a, 507, 833, 858-9, 1205, 1284-4^a, 1437, 1680^a, 1867, 2315. *See also under individual countries.*
 American Colonies, 481, 2329, 2700.
 Anabaptists, 87, 788, 1243.
 Anatomy, 44, 194, 196-7, 213, 216-16^a, 221^a, 221^c, 230, 277, 350-1, 466, 749, 1222^a, 1249, 1302^a, 1303^a, 1321, 1420^a, 1451^a, 1466^b, 1513, 1567^b, 1628, 1651^b, 1651^d, 1888-9, 1891^a, 2236, 2766^a, 3004. *See also* Bones, Ear, Heart, Kidney, Liver, Lungs, Medicine, Physiology, Surgery.
 Anthropology, General, 368, 404, 1712, 1766, 2448; Africa, 1780, 1874, 1912, 2124; Algeria, 2494; America, North and South, 411, 510, 918-18^a, 1655-6, 2125; America, North, 951, 1421-2, 1451, 1487, 1588, 1706; America, South, 507, 853, 858-9, 1205, 1284-4^a, 1680^a, 1867; Antilles, 100, 2491^a, 2858; Asia, 210, 2128-30; Brazil, 507, 1718, 2314; Canada, 401, 656-7, 2100-100^a, 2526-7; Ceylon, 180, 1649, 2478; Chile, 2152; China, 477-8, 688-90, 827-8, 1108^b, 1274, 1710, 1925-7, 1965-5^a, 2087^a, 2170, 2983-4; Christians, 1145; Denmark, 950, 1405; Egypt, 3128^b; Ethiopia, 1830-1; Europe, 498-9, 527-8, 1283, 1590^a, 1928, 2231-2, 2446, 2585; Faroe Islands, 931; Florida, 1455, 1681; France,

1765; Gaspesia, 778; Greenland, 1328; Guinea, 396^a, 1368, 3088; Hebrides, 1924; Hottentots, 2477; Iceland, 2286; Incas, 3058; Indian, 285-6^a, 504, 664^a, 942, 1197-8, 1253, 1545, 1807, 1864, 1867, 1904, 2173, 2411-11^a, 2495-6, 2721, 2857; Isle of Man, 2523; Italy, 1108, 2583-5; Japan, 2126, 3050; Jews, 1143, 1873, 2004; Korea, 848; Laos, 1906; Lapland, 2566; Levant, 259, 261-2, 692, 912, 1002^a, 1108, 1242, 1404, 2028, 2423, 2553, 2888; Madagascar, 642^a, 1001^a, 1137, 2466; Mariana Islands, 1275; Mohammedans, 2321^a; Morocco, 2531; Netherlands, 2196; Orkneys, 3124-5; Palestine, 991; Panama, 3121; Pennsylvania, 2891; Persia, 664^a, 1119, 1197, 2166, 2554; Peru, 3195^a; Poland, 645^a; Russia, 1429, 1949; St. Kilda, Hebrides, 1923; Scotland, 479; Siam, 678, 693, 1245, 1811-11^a, 2115, 2821-2, 3050; Spain, 1459-60; Surat, 2160; Tonkin, 1906; Turkey, 223, 546, 677, 1090, 2085, 2479; Ukraine, 245; Virginia, 508-9.
 Antilles, 100, 2491^a, 2858.
 Antiquities, 148^a, 517, 574-5, 614, 675, 694, 710-10^a, 948, 955, 958, 971, 1224, 1281, 1285^a, 1369, 1640-1, 1972, 1982, 2143-4, 2366^a, 2504, 2610, 2963.
 Apoplexy, 234, 1312^a, 3135.
 Apostles, 584.
 Apostles' Creed. *See* Creeds.
 Aristoteles, 117-21, 2479^a.
 Arithmetic, 1235, 1324, 2245^a, 2980.
 Arles, 1369.
 Army, 123, 1141, 1992, 2519, 2716^a.
 Arthritis, 1950, 2476.
 Arundel and Surrey, Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of, 893.
 Asia, 210, 407, 2128-30, 2300.
 Asthma, 1149.
 Astrology, 1033, 1204, 1446, 1753-3^a, 2172, 2181, 2221, 2394, 2795, 2984^a.
 Astronomy, 979, 1208, 1313, 1537, 1538^a, 2703, 2794^a. *See also* Comets.
 Athanasian Creed. *See* Creeds.
 Atheism, 143, 269, 1024-5, 2745-6.
 Atlas, 143^b, 1563, 2738. *See also* Maps.
 Bacon, Francis, 162-78^a.
 Bacteriology, 1629, 1165^b.
 Bank of England, 187-8, 190, 489-90.
 Baptism, 914, 2727.
 Barbary, 18, 2296.
 Barlaam and Josaphat, 909.
 Bath, city, 658, 1361.
 Baths. *See* Therapeutics.
 Bayle, François, 229-35^a.
 Beer, 2581.
 Bees, 2465.
 Bible, Complete: Polyglott, 324; Dutch, 330^b; English, 305-10, 312-13, 315-16, 318-22, 330^a; French, 317, 323; Greek, 311; Greek-Latin, 302; Hebrew-Latin, 303-4; Latin, 325-6, 328-9, 330^c.
 Old Testament: Greek, 314; Hebrew, 327; Hebrew-Latin, 2851^a; Latin, 765, 770.
 New Testament: Polyglott, 2860; French, 2863-4, 2878-9; Gothic-Anglo-Saxon, 1078; Greek, 2861-2, 2865-7, 2871, 2873^a, 2874-5; Greek-Dutch, 1080; Greek-Latin, 2868; Italian, 2872; Latin, 1382, 2870, 2876-7; Spanish, 2869; Syriac, 2873^b. *See also* Psalms.
 Bible, Concordance, 549, 829-31, 1175, 1558, 1643, 1662, 1667, 1671, 2091, 2578.
 Bible, Studies and Commentaries: General, 29, 330, 483, 623, 625, 648, 777^a, 821, 856, 886,

- 976, 1052, 1310, 1314-15, 1952, 2369, 2682^a, 3028, 3144, 3185; Old Testament, 41, 342, 407^b, 551^a, 754-5, 892, 963^a, 997, 1084, 1335, 1416, 1518, 1633, 1743, 1751, 1752^a, 1956, 2246, 2287, 2361-3, 2673-4, 2679-81, 2716, 2726, 2933, 3114; New Testament, 99, 403, 581, 681, 732-4, 768, 772, 775-6, 876, 882, 1079, 1103, 1334, 1336-8, 1645, 1697, 1737, 1742, 1746-7^a, 1752, 1777, 1843, 2108, 2245, 2381, 2480, 2577, 2675-7, 2880, 2934, 3106, 3149-50.
- Bibliography, 148^a, 181, 296-8^a, 333-4^a, 358, 492, 630-1, 795, 814, 995, 1188, 1246, 1283^a, 1410, 1532^b, 1539^a, 1544^a, 1689-9^a, 1714^a, 1837^a, 2077^a, 2126^a, 2238, 2321^a, 2450^a, 2477^a, 2597^a, 2893, 2961, 3120^a. *See also* Dictionary, Grammar.
- Births, Paris, 191.
- Blasphemy, 644^a.
- Blood: Circulation, 393, 405, 724, 932, 953-4, 1054, 1397, 1578, 1815, 2320-1; Heat of, 406; Origin and Nature, 294, 653^a; Transfusion, 2976.
- Bodleian Library. *See* Oxford.
- Bohemia, 1177.
- Bones, 2580.
- Book Catalogues. *See* Bibliography.
- Book of Common Prayer, 822-3^a, 1767-8.
- Book-keeping. *See* Accountancy.
- Borgia, Cesare, *Duke of Valentinois*, 1721, 2959.
- Botany, 225, 360, 980, 1322, 1427-8, 1439, 1870, 2053, 2142, 2201, 2444-8, 2692, 2898. *See also* Flowers, Gardens, Natural History, Oxford: Botanical Gardens, Trees.
- Boyle, Robert, 89^a, 413-73.
- Brahmanism, 2495-6.
- Brain, 3165^a.
- Brazil, 206, 507, 1718, 2314.
- Bretigny, Charles Poncet de, 411.
- Buccaneers, 511-12.
- Burns, 1454.
- Burtscheid, 352.
- Byzantine Empire, 2393^a.
- Calendars. *See* Almanacs.
- Cambridge District: Plants, 2447.
- Camphor, 2006.
- Canada, 401, 656-7, 906, 2100-100^a, 2526-7.
- Canals, 1191.
- Cancer, 1238.
- Canon Law, 991^a.
- Cape of Good Hope, 2477.
- Cardano, Girolamo, 2074^b.
- Carolina, 594-5^a.
- Catechisms, 202^a, 632-3, 3163^a, 3186.
- Cathedral Worship, 635.
- Catholicism, 87^a, 636, 1487^b. *See also* Papacy, Theology.
- Cattle, 812, 3183.
- Ceremonies, 650.
- Ceylon, 180, 1649, 2478.
- Chameleons, 89.
- Charles I, *King of England*, 596-8, 665, 1032^a, 1478, 2542-2^a, 3024, 3123.
- Charles II, *King of England*, 474, 666-7, 992, 1032, 1725, 2027, 2734-5, 2979.
- Chemistry, 89^a, 248-9, 252, 298^a, 420, 425, 432, 438-9, 443-4, 453, 467, 469, 482, 847, 887, 926, 1031^a, 1100, 1255-6, 1259, 1261, 1264-5, 1396-6^a, 1577, 1674, 1833, 1976, 2374, 2498, 2806^a, 3023, 3131. *See also* Alchemy, Medicine: Remedies, Pharmacy.
- Childbirth, 1364, 1942, 2643^a.
- Chile, 2152.
- China: Antiquities, 1641; History, 408, 477-8, 688-9, 827, 1097, 1108^b, 1274, 1710, 1925-7,

- 1965-5^b, 2087^a, 2170, 2983-4; Religious Orders, 105, 691, 1108^a; Rites, 690, 828, 1273, 1731-5.
- Chinese Literature, 2749.
- Chocolate, 2797.
- Christianity, 1, 75, 374, 376, 387, 450, 473^a, 500, 542, 570-1, 644, 697-702^a, 767, 1028, 1040, 1100, 1154, 1162, 1167, 1279-80, 1339, 1386, 1755, 2054^a, 2198, 2600^a, 2774, 2935-6. *See also* Theology.
- Chronology, 573, 1418-19, 1838-41, 2793-3^a.
- Church and State, 730, 1490-2, 1533, 1695^a-6, 2388, 2522. *See also* Political Thought.
- Church Communion, 706, 2524, 2653, 2772.
- Church Fathers, 222^a, 743-5, 908, 925, 1013, 1076, 1101, 1303, 1522^a, 1554^a, 1603, 1609, 1651-1^a, 1902^a, 1966^a, 1999^a, 2061, 2139-40, 2635-9, 2859-9^a, 2883.
- Church Government, 409, 540, 709^a, 2097^a, 2179.
- Church History, 227-8, 582, 1227, 1229-30, 1244, 1532^a, 1636, 2306-7, 2549-51.
- Church of England, 21, 92, 110, 126, 530, 661, 705-9, 856^b, 905, 1012, 1014-15, 1625, 1769, 2068, 2137, 2228. *See also* Convocation, Dissenters, Episcopacy, Religious Controversy, Theology.
- Church Revenues, 857.
- Churchwardens, 2387^a.
- Chyle, 724.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 132, 295, 711-21^a, 1891^b.
- Cinnabar, 2900.
- Circulatory System. *See* Blood: Circulation.
- Civility, 726.
- Classical Authors: Greek, 30-35^a, 101-4^a, 108^a, 113^a-14, 117-21, 127, 129, 143^a, 336^a, 369, 614^a, 645, 670-1, 943^a-4, 946-7, 967-72, 1071, 1411-12, 1431-5, 1440-1, 1480-4, 1556^a, 1820-2^a, 2240, 2303, 2356-9, 2370, 2718, 2768, 2791, 2895-7, 3192-3; Latin, 45, 132, 156, 295, 559-62^a, 638-9, 640-2, 711-21^a, 738-9, 904-4^a, 1113, 1146-8^b, 1231-2^a, 1494-1512^a, 1539^b, 1556, 1600-2^a, 1604-8^b, 1770-2^a, 1818-19, 1823-5, 1896-8^a, 1917-21, 1946-7^a, 2076, 2078, 2154-9^a, 2229-30^a, 2263-4, 2275, 2277-8^a, 2290-3, 2335-8^a, 2344-50^a, 2394^a, 2424-5, 2426^a, 2499-500^a, 2536-41, 2612-16^a, 2634, 2669-72, 2760-1, 2804-5^a, 2823-7^a, 2852-6^b, 3084, 3089-92, 3094-5.
- Classical Literature: Studies, 85^a, 271, 367, 397, 575^a, 769, 1088, 1863^a, 1891^b-c, 1957.
- Clemens, *Alexandrinus*, 743-4, 759.
- Clement XI, *Pope*, 653.
- Clergy, 779-83.
- Cochin China, 137, 395^b.
- Coinage, 135, 611-12, 654, 796-802, 863, 1067^a, 1234, 1467, 1816, 2017-18, 2021-2, 2106, 2474, 2505, 2968. *See also* Money.
- Coins, 517, 920, 2930-2.
- Cold, History of, 461-1^a.
- College of Physicians, 2664^b.
- Colours, 469.
- Comets, 237^a, 1305.
- Commerce. *See* Trade.
- Communion. *See* Church Communion.
- Compass: Mathematical, 1423, 2268.
- Conchology, 1764.
- Concordance, Biblical. *See* Bible, Concordance.
- Condé, Louis II de Bourbon, *prince de*, 860.
- Confession of Faith, 87, 140, 202^a, 832-3, 1009.
- Conformity, 824, 834, 1462, 1526^a, 1808, 2117, 2131, 2737^a. *See also* Non-Conformity.
- Congregational Churches, 1544.
- Conscience, 2548, 2820.

- Consumption, 267, 2056.
 Conversation, 2327.
 Convocation, 143^c, 837-40, 1016, 1625-6, 2661, 3189.
 Cookery, 400, 898, 940, 1835, 2431, 3051-1^a, 3104^a.
 Coral, 366.
 Coromandel Coast, 180.
 Corporations, 851-2.
 Cosmetics, 1967.
 Cosmography, 1645^a, 1684, 2994^a.
 Councils of the Church, 600. *See also* Nice, Council of, Trent, Council of.
 Country Life, 1909, 2330.
 Courts and Courtiers, 626-7^a, 865, 1362.
 Creation, 533, 1057, 2490.
 Creeds, 142, 1637, 2242, 2557, 3111^a.
 Cryptography, 2054^a.
 Currency. *See* Coinage.
 Customs. *See* Anthropology.
 Cyprian, *Saint*, 752.
 Darien, 2597.
 Deafness, 85.
 Deaths: Paris, 191.
 Deformities, 1741, 1894.
 Deism, 500, 544, 937-9, 1040, 2779, 2935-7.
 Democritus, 1869^a.
 Demography, 191, 2280, 2282-2^a, 2284. *See also* Mortality Bills.
 Denmark, 950, 1405, 2557^a.
 Descartes, René, 229, 392, 601^a-9, 845^a, 1008, 1156, 2451, 2629, 2742, 3063^a-2.
 Diagnosis, Medical. *See* Medicine: Diagnosis.
 Diarrhoea, 2443^a.
 Dictionary, Language: Dutch-Latin, 961, 1634; English, 1997, 2689; English-Dutch, 1444; French, 1201, 2371, 2481, 2980^a; French-English, 410, 861; French-Latin, 2086; Gothic, 1594^a; Greek-Latin, 885, 2227-7^a, 2559-60, 2589; Hebrew, 1536, 2489; Hebrew-Chaldee, 551; Italian, 894; Italian-French, 1001^b; Italian-Latin, 3066; Latin, 569-9^a, 579, 842, 1207, 1289, 1304^a, 1690, 2739, 3107-8; Latin-English, 808-8^a; Latin-Greek, 1822^b; Latin-Greek-French, 2049^a; Spanish-French-Italian, 960.
 Dictionary, Subject: Authors, 358; Bible, 1535, 1848; Biography, 1650; Chemistry, 1577; Geography, 224, 1111-1^a; History, 1468-9, 1773, 2051; Law, 572, 868, 1692, 2565; Medicine, 2579, 3128; Names, 1309, 1594; Nature, 2372; Pharmacy, 1983; Philosophy, 237; Words and Phrases, 480.
 Digestive System, 2310-11, 2601^a, 2806^b.
 Dioscorides, 973-3^a, 1939.
 Diplomacy, 43, 1846.
 Diplomatic, 1846.
 Diseases. *See under the name of the individual disease.*
 Dissenters, 290^a, 379, 525, 977, 2665.
 Distillation, 977^a-8, 1187.
 Divine Right of Kings, 1120, 1122, 2652, 2999, 3001, 3003^a.
 Dogs, 563, 683.
 Dreams, 129.
 Dutch Authors: Literary, 639^a, 843, 986^a-b.
 Ear, 2766, 3071.
 Earth: Measurement of, 2703; Theory of, 244, 533-5, 1029, 1612-13, 3142-3.
 Earthquakes, 1005, 1611.
 East India Company, 841, 957^a, 1546, 2969.
 East Indies. *See* India.
 Eastern Churches, 2026.
 Ecclesiastical History. *See* Church History.

- Economics. *See* Bank of England, Coinage, Excise, Husbandry, Land Bank, Land Registry, Million Act, Money, Taxation, Trade.
 Education, 26^a, 42, 255, 388, 519, 569^a, 599, 817-19^a, 1019-22, 1082^b, 1106, 1114, 1139, 1144, 1159, 1473, 1738, 1784-6^a, 2085^a, 2147, 2202, 2256, 2327, 2436, 2911, 2966-6^a.
 Edward III, *King of England*, 1948.
 Effluvia, 453.
 Egypt, 1642^a, 2064^a, 3128^b, 3171.
 Elder Tree, 350-1.
 Eleanor, of Aquitaine, 1680.
 Elections, 1034-5, 2203-4, 2219. *See also* Parliament.
 Elephants, 1845.
 Elizabeth I, *Queen of England*, 966.
 Elocution, 2132.
 Embryology, 80^a, 866, 1082, 1398, 2077, 2308, 2588, 2794^a.
 Employment of the Poor, 255^a, 1133.
 England: Antiquities, 148^a, 574-5; Geography, 143^b, 2738; History, 93, 113, 162, 228, 281, 520, 537, 557, 566, 596, 655, 804, 864, 922, 966, 1032-2^a, 1072, 1371, 1477, 1560-1, 1694, 1829, 2146, 2195, 2437-7^a, 2514, 2759, 2801, 3002-3, 3067; Trade, 93^a, 255^a; Travel, 2719. *See also* Army, Church of England, Navy, Parliament, Politics: English.
 English Literature: Drama, 239-43, 281^a, 836, 869, 923-4, 1583, 2339-41, 2461, 2642, 2664^a, 2995, 3190^a-b; Poetry, 159, 340-1, 786, 924^a, 949, 990, 1285^a, 1464, 1530, 1581, 1778, 1948, 1966, 1993, 2065, 2260, 2717, 2803, 2836, 2993^a, 3093, 3172; Prose, 148, 171-2, 178-8^a, 253, 501, 1002, 1107, 1456, 1728, 1931-3, 1962^a, 1994, 2140^a, 2148, 2199, 2517, 2609, 2792, 2848.
 Epidemics. *See* Fever, Plague, Smallpox, Sweating Sickness.
 Epilepsy, 806.
 Episcopacy, 338, 735, 1061.
 Episcopus, Simon, 1060-60^a, 1759.
 Equations, 2441.
 Essex, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of, 178^b.
 Ethics, 23^a, 120-1, 122^a, 880-1, 1712.
 Ethiopia, 1230, 1830-1.
 Europe: History, 83, 1461, 1517, 1961, 2080, 2182-3, 2555^a, 2686-7, 2691, 2847, 2894; Travel, 498-9, 527-8, 893, 1283, 1426, 1590^a, 1928, 2231-2, 2446, 2585, 2750, 3116.
 Eusebius Pamphili, 759, 1076.
 Excise, 1083, 2064^a.
 Experiments, 249, 414-15, 420, 425, 432, 440, 443, 447-8, 453, 459, 461-2, 466, 469, 472, 722, 784, 1353, 1380, 2380, 3131.
 Exploration. *See* Travels and Voyages.
 Eyesight, 1907.
 Fabri de Peiresc, Nicolas Claude, 1211.
 Farmer, Christoph, 1264.
 Faroe Islands, 931.
 Fathers of the Church. *See* Church Fathers.
 Fever, 150, 258, 349^a, 496, 805, 992^a, 1118, 1157, 2226^a, 2237, 2319, 2597^b, 2751-1^a, 2816, 2817^a, 2828^a, 3165^a.
 Filmer, Sir Robert, 1120-2.
 Fishery, 813, 1134-5, 2400.
 Flatulence, 1115.
 Florida, 1455, 1681, 3059.
 Flowers, 1142, 1427-8, 2052, 2121, 2450, 2996.
 Fossils, 1247.
 France: Geography, 1170; History, 86^a, 222^b, 293, 402, 634, 682, 927, 929, 1003^b, 1017, 1069^a, 1158^a, 1171, 1173^a, 1424, 1446^a, 1680, 1718^b, 1736, 1763^a, 1808^b, 1811^a, 1837, 1903, 1906^a, 1913, 1973, 1987, 2034-5, 2098, 2149.

- 2482, 2492-3, 2502, 2556, 2629*, 3053-4;
Travel, 1065, 1765, 3068.
Francis I, *King of France*, 3053.
French Language, 403, 1098*. *See also* Dictionary, Grammar.
French Literature: Drama, 849, 891, 2007-8*, 2423*, 2504*, 3072-3, 3100, 3102; Poetry, 569^b, 850, 1150, 1153, 1718*, 2561, 3082*, 3101; Poetry and Prose, 1941; Prose, 182-6*, 255, 279, 371-3*, 505, 569^b, 586, 742-2*, 952*, 1056, 1152, 1363, 1443, 1609*, 1650*, 1944, 1964, 2029-30, 2039, 2133, 2171, 2258, 2433-4*, 2456-7, 2532, 2562-3*, 2719*, 2845, 2887, 3099, 3102*.
Fruit, 1196, 1969*, 2427. *See also* Trees.
Funeral Orations, 1138**.
Galilee, 1209.
Gardens, 115, 1552*, 1565-6, 2010, 2201*, 2427.
Gaspesia, 778.
Genealogy, 1390.
Generosity, 1239.
Geography: General, 2*, 157*, 224, 486, 627^b, 645^b, 682*, 791-2, 1111-11*, 1160, 1287, 1323, 2009, 2042, 2141, 2555, 2703, 3049; Amazon, 16; America, North, 951; America, South, 858; Ancient, 1563, 1686, 2713-14, 2767*; Asia, 210; Brazil, 206; France, 1170; Great Britain, 143^b, 574-5, 2738; Ireland, 1658; Levant, 259, 261-2; Netherlands, 407*; Poland, 645*; Ukraine, 245. *See also* Atlas, Cosmography, Maps, Travels and Voyages.
Geology, 2767.
Geometry, 212*, 1073, 1423, 2224, 2268, 2828.
Germany, 71, 1002^b, 1244, 1255, 1580, 1710*.
Ghosts, 1691.
Glands, 3136.
Globe, 627^b.
Goa, 941, 1552.
Gold: Transmutation, 456.
Gondomar, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, *conde de*, 864.
Government, 147, 725, 1291-7, 1299, 1387-8, 2666.
Grammar: English, 1410*, French, 683*, 795*, 2343; Greek, 547, 747*, 1319*, 1738*; Hebrew, 550, 551*; Italian, 1174, 1307, 2342, 2987; Latin, 554, 1738*, 2543-4, 2582; Persian, 963^b.
Graunt, John, 1311-12, 1665.
Great Britain. *See* England, Scotland.
Greece, Ancient: Geography, 1686; History, 30, 127, 872, 961*, 967-8, 1043-4, 1431-5, 1977-8, 1980, 2240, 2269, 2303, 2370, 2799, 2895-7, 3110, 3192.
Greece, Modern, 3138.
Greek Language, 516, 1430*. *See also* Dictionary, Grammar.
Greek Literature. *See* Classical Authors: Greek.
Greenland, 1328.
Greenwich Hospital, 1516.
Gregory (St.), *Nazianzen*, 759.
Grey, Mary, 1200*^b.
Grotius, Hugo, 99, 1329-40*, 2508-9.
Guinea, 396*, 1368, 3088.
Guinea Company, 1367.
Gymnastics, 1968.
Haemorrhoids, 1192.
Hammond, Henry, 772, 1102, 1382.
Harvey, William, 1397-8, 2588.
Health, 2036*, 2533. *See also* Hygiene, Mental Health.
Heart, 724, 954, 1397, 1815. *See also* Blood: Circulation.
Hebrew Language, 551^b. *See also* Dictionary,

- Grammar.
Hebrews. *See* Jews.
Hebrides, 1924.
Henry VII, *King of England*, 162.
Henry II, *King of France*, 3054.
Henry III, *King of France*, 1424, 1718^b.
Henry IV, *King of France*, 293.
Heraldry, 1122*.
Heretics, 301, 620, 844, 2060*.
Hermaphrodites, 1003*.
Hernia, 1381*, 1716.
History: General, 237, 771, 1974, 2435, 2690, 2829, 2962*, 3173; Ancient, General, 981, 1299, 1915, 2521, 3113; Oriental, 5, 300, 1312*, 1519, 1521, 1534*, 2173, 3027. *See also* Chronology. *For histories of individual countries see under those countries.*
Hobbes, Thomas, 436, 464, 730, 1464-6, 1695, 1813, 2849-50.
Holland. *See* Netherlands.
Holy Bible. *See* Bible.
Holy League, 2555*.
Holy Spirit, 883*, 2748.
Holy Trinity. *See* Trinity.
Horatius Flaccus, Quintus, 1494-1512*, 1902.
Horsemanship, 1910, 2715.
Horses, 553.
Horticulture. *See* Gardens.
Humanist Literature, 154, 495*, 513, 515, 545, 1063-4*, 1531, 2299, 3045.
Hunting, 1403, 1683.
Husband, Authority, 3056.
Husbandry, 1392-5, 2455, 2966-6*. *See also* Agriculture.
Hydrotherapy. *See* Therapeutics.
Hyenas, 624*.
Hygiene, 487-7*, 1285, 1967, 2994. *See also* Health.
Iceland, 1583*, 2286.
Ides, Everard Ysbrands, 477-8.
Idolatry, 355, 377, 907*, 2775, 2780-1.
Imagination, 1116.
Immorality, 810, 2451*.
Incas, 3058.
India, 285-6*, 386, 504, 664*, 942, 1197-8, 1253, 1545, 1807, 1864, 1867, 1904, 2025, 2173, 2279, 2411-11*, 2495-6, 2721, 2857.
Inks, 578.
Inquisition, 941, 1552, 1756, 2185*.
Insects, 2059, 2453, 2807, 2809.
Interest Tables, 1093, 2741*.
Inventions, 1401-2, 1529, 1858, 2180*, 2189, 3070-70*.
Ireland, 87*, 746, 812, 1658, 2012, 2664*, 2699, 2800*, 2970.
Irenaeus (St.), *Bp of Lyons*, 982, 1554*.
Isle of Man, 2523.
Italian Literature: Drama, 97*, 816, 2449, 2835; Poetry, 1350, 2273, 2834; Poetry and Prose, 613; Prose, 112-12*, 361, 593, 626-7*, 1351-1*, 2065*, 2174-7, 2178*, 2262.
Italy: History, 1357-8*, 1370-70*, 1557, 2668; Travel, 831*, 1108, 2583-5.
Jamaica, 1005, 2692, 2978.
James I, *King of England*, 1390, 1560-1, 2591.
James II, *King of England*, 933, 952, 1562, 1575.
James, *Prince of Wales, the Old Pretender*, 1200*^b.
Japan, 1564, 2126, 3050.
Jerome (St.), 774.
Jersey, 1094.
Jerusalem, 263, 623*, 1661.
Jesuits, 1567-7*, 1568-71, 2308*, 2534; Canada, 906; China, 395*, 688-9, 691, 1097, 1108*, 2983-4; Japan, 1564.
x

- Jesus Christ, 475, 883, 963, 1843^a, 2882. *See also* Passover.
- Jews, 291, 585, 901, 1143, 1281^a, 1520, 1559, 1586-7, 1749-50, 1873, 2004, 2986^a. *See also* Kabbala, Synagogues.
- John III, Sobieski, *King of Poland*, 2368.
- Juniper, 2565^a.
- Juries, 1042, 1308, 1595.
- Jurisprudence. *See* Law.
- Justinianus I, *Emperor*, 1598-9, 1938^a.
- Kabbala, 558-8^a, 1647.
- K'ang-Hsi, *Emperor of China*, 408.
- Kempis, Thomas à, 2074^b.
- Kidney, 256-7, 1886-7.
- Kircher, Athanasius, 1641-2^b, 2279.
- Knaresborough, 930, 2754.
- Koran, 52.
- Korea, 848.
- Lamotte Lambert, Pierre de, *Bp of Beirut*, 407.
- Land Bank, 180, 2064^a, 3137.
- Land Registry, 133-4, 2460.
- Languages, Diversity, 484.
- La Noue, François de, 86^a, 2098.
- Laos, 1906.
- Lapland, 2566.
- La Rochelle, 1973.
- Last Supper. *See* Passover.
- Latham, *Lancashire*, 395^a.
- Latin Language, 817-19^a, 1082^b, 3057. *See also* Dictionary, Grammar.
- Latin Literature: Modern, 639^a, 936, 986^{a-b}, 1180, 1189-9^a, 1657^a, 2265, 2898^a, 3045. *For Classical Latin Literature see* Classical Authors: Latin.
- Latitudinarians, 1163.
- Laudanum, 2901.
- Law: General, 1082^a: Dictionary, 868, 1692; English, 510^a, 615, 1277, 1532^a; Greek, 1980; Hunting, 1683; International, 1329-9^a, 2402, 2406, 2603, 2925; Italian, 1965^a, 2312; Jewish, 1522, 2602, 2606-7, 2740; Jurisprudence, 1114^a, 2404-5; Roman, 491, 1288, 1596, 1598-9, 1938^a. *See also* Canon Law, Natural Law, Penal Law.
- Laying on of Hands, 915.
- Learning, 39, 166, 168, 1705, 3187-7^a.
- Le Clerc, Jean, 752-77^a, 1055, 1382, 2482, 2545, 2599, 2844, 2879.
- Levant, 80, 246, 259, 261-3, 359, 692, 912, 1002^a, 1108, 1199, 1242, 1404, 2028, 2085, 2376, 2423, 2553, 2750, 2888.
- Liège, 1407.
- Light, 1538.
- Liturgies, 382-3, 736; *See also* Book of Common Prayer.
- Liver, 1272^a.
- Livius, Titus, 1180, 1770-2^a, 1852.
- Locke, John, 23^a-25, 159^a, 205, 374, 376, 384, 594, 697-702^a, 800-1, 821, 1020, 1024-6, 1028, 1038, 1291, 1293-4, 1653, 1712-13, 1781-1802^b, 1814, 2017-18, 2094, 2626, 2789-90, 2846, 2941-3, 2945-7, 3118.
- Logic, 736^b, 762-3, 875, 1685^{b-d}, 1803-3^a, 1908^a, 2548^a, 2982, 3126.
- London, 676, 1534, 1804-5, 2282-2^a.
- Lots, 761, 1219-20.
- Lottery Act, 489-90.
- Louis IX, *King of France*, 3054.
- Louis XI, *King of France*, 3054.
- Louis XIV, *King of France*, 919, 1173^a, 1176, 1736, 1811^b.
- Lungs, 215, 406. *See also* Respiratory System.
- Lymphatic System, 221.

- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 476, 1848^a-57.
- Madagascar, 642^a, 1001^a, 1137, 2466.
- Madeira, 46, 1862.
- Magdalen College, Oxford. *See* Oxford.
- Magic, 39, 254, 943, 2074. *See also* Superstition, Witchcraft.
- Magistrates, 1868, 2800^a, 2927.
- Magnetism, 207, 2484.
- Malabar, 180, 1227.
- Maldachini, Olimpia, 1349.
- Mallius Theodorus, Flavius, 2510.
- Man, Nature of, 803.
- Manners, 6^a, 2459. *See also* Courts and Courtiers.
- Manuscripts, 23^a-5, 1712-13, 1769, 1948, 3104^a.
- Maps, 1895-5^a, 3096^a. *See also* Atlas.
- Mariana Islands, 1275.
- Marriage, 548, 1223, 1693, 1914.
- Marriages: Paris, 191.
- Martialis, Marcus Valerius, 1678, 1917-21.
- Mary II, *Queen of England*, 526, 1936^a.
- Mary, *Queen of Scots*, 513^a, 1937.
- Mary Magdalene, 98, 1673, 2451^a.
- Maryland, 514.
- Mathematics, 393-4, 916, 1325, 2036, 2794, 2794^b, 2887^a. *See also* Arithmetic, Compass: Mathematical, Equations, Geometry.
- Maxims, 1944, 2039, 2087, 2255, 2456-8.
- Medicine, General: Classical, 28, 335, 646, 1457-7^a, 1954; Modern, 23^b-24, 60, 79, 81, 152-3, 161, 179, 195, 198-200, 217-20, 221^b, 221^d, 231-3, 235-5^a, 250^a, 298^a, 399, 448, 459, 462, 465, 468, 497, 501^a, 503^a, 532, 536, 580, 587, 591, 617, 628, 654^a, 740, 741^a, 790, 854, 860^a, 874, 973-3^a, 980^a, 1109, 1127-8, 1155, 1198^a, 1222, 1222^b, 1267, 1341-5, 1352, 1446^b, 1487^a, 1515, 1588^{a-b}, 1650^a, 1676-7, 1679, 1711, 1713, 1715, 1803^b, 1810, 1847^a, 1890, 1902^b, 1908, 1939-40, 1966^a, 1984, 2055, 2060, 2074^a, 2233, 2259, 2285, 2311^a, 2377, 2385^a, 2439, 2460^a, 2475, 2486-7, 2568, 2601^a, 2616^b-18, 2624, 2698, 2753^a, 2763^a, 2812-17^b, 2851, 2892, 2922-3, 3062, 3063^a, 3087, 3128, 3154, 3165, 3195; Bibliography, 298, 1760, 1762; Diagnosis, 1117, 1457^{a-d}, 2815; Dictionaries, 2579, 3128; Ethics, 629; Geography, 729; History, 346, 349^{b-c}, 748, 750, 1276, 1892, 2274, 2304, 2316, 2633-3^a, 2751^b; Jurisprudence, 1114^a; Remedies and Treatment, 94, 109, 151, 345, 350-1, 440, 459, 964-5, 1003^a, 1100^a, 1203, 1237, 1266, 1356, 1372, 1445, 1675, 1687, 1893, 1911, 1953, 2050, 2192^a, 2317, 2385^b, 2464, 2511^a, 2815, 3043^a, 3133, 3169, *see also* under individual diseases; Schools, 2533; Tropical, 386. *See also* Alchemy, Anatomy, Bacteriology, Chemistry, Fever, Health, Hygiene, Mental Health, Microscopy, Midwifery, Nursing, Pharmacy, Physiology, Plague, Smallpox, Surgery, Sweating Sickness, Therapeutics.
- Mental Health, 1183, 2313.
- Metals, 37-38, 192-3, 337, 396, 1087. *See also* Mineralogy.
- Metaphysics, 1975. *See also* Philosophy.
- Microscopy, 391, 1488, 1707-8, 1991.
- Midwifery, 2643^a.
- Military Art, 2074^a.
- Militia, 1141, 1992.
- Million Act, 489-90.
- Milton, John, 1993-4^a, 2938-9.
- Mineral Waters. *See* Therapeutics.
- Mineralogy, 37-38, 249, 578, 1642, 1987^b, 2900, 3179. *See also* Metals.
- Miracles, 1140, 2000.
- Miscellaneous, 727, 794, 917^a, 957^a, 989, 1023^a, 1036, 1083^a, 1132, 1174^a, 1250, 1252,

- 1543, 1650^b, 1952^a, 2064, 2123, 2180, 2227^b, 2382, 2396, 2529, 2620, 2741, 3111.
 Modena, 2003.
 Mohammed, *the Prophet*, 2386.
 Mohammedans, 2321^b.
 Monarchy, 402, 576, 1753, 2013, 3188.
 Monasteries, 980^b, 2832.
 Monastic Orders, 1041.
 Money, 205, 552, 884^a, 935^a, 1004, 1210, 1326, 1787, 1790, 1792, 2020, 2024, 2064^a, 2283, 2460^a, 2846. *See also* Coinage.
 Monmouth, James, *Duke of*, 2027, 2270.
 Montrose, James Graham, 1st *Marquis of*, 3169^a.
 Moore, Sir John, 1723.
 Morals, 141, 226, 810, 1240, 2850^a.
 Morea, 2440.
 Morocco, 2531.
 Mortality Bills, 1311-12, 2322.
 Muscular Motion, 405.
 Museums, 568, 1321.
 Mythology, 2169, 2564.
 Names, *Edict*, 1216-18^a.
 Natural History: General, 165-5, 214^a, 568, 668, 669^a, 686-6, 1321, 1542, 1712, 2452, 2454^a, 2490, 3079-80; *America*, South, 2315; *Antilles*, 120, 2452^a, 2558; *Brazil*, 206, 2312; *Great Britain*, 1971. *See also* Botany, Zoology.
 Natural Law, 2421, 2423, 2427, 2003.
 Natural Philosophy. *See* Philosophy, Natural.
 Naval Architecture, 981^a, 1955.
 Navy, 2296^a, 2313, 2315, 2601.
 Near East. *See* Levant.
 Nervous System, 1451^b, 2810-11, 3165^a, 3165^a.
 Netherlands: Geography, 467^a; History, 2, 1003^a, 1340, 1779, 1474-6, 1650^a, 1657, 1943, 2372^a, 2792^b; Religion, 2792^a; Travel, 1103^a, 2196.
 Newfoundland, 3145.
 Nice, Council of, 377.
 Nile, 1780.
 Niphus, Augustinus, 117, 2074^a.
 Nismes, 955, 2366^a.
 Nobility: English, 1051^a.
 Non-Conformity, 567, 825, 2573. *See also* Conformity.
 Numismatics. *See* Coins.
 Nursing, 1365.
 Oaths, 2547.
 Occasional Conformity. *See* Conformity.
 Ontology, 762, 764.
 Opium, 1181, 3130.
 Optics, 2011, 2082.
 Orach, 5105.
 Oracles, 907, 2133, 3114^a.
 Orange Trees. *See* Trees.
 Oratory, 2424-5, 2426^a.
 Oriental Languages, 1522^a, 1522^a, 1522^a, 3128^a.
See also Dictionary, Grammar, Hebrew Language.
 Orinacy Islands, 470, 3124-5.
 Ornithology, 53, 683, 3166.
 Overseer of the Poor, 1003.
 Ovidius Naso, Publius, 2070, 2154-9^a.
 Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1539^a; Botanical Gardens, 500; City, 2164; Convocation, 1131; Magdalen College, 1865-6; University Poems and Orations, 2161-3.
 Pachymeres, Georgius, 925.
 Palestine, 263, 631^a, 991, 2924. *See also* Levant.
 Palmyra, 2610.
 Panama, 3121.
 Papacy, 203, 268-8^a, 600, 856^a, 983, 1551-1^a, 1719, 2071, 2089, 2186-7, 2191-2, 2332, 2501, 2511^a, 2552, 2775-6, 2778, 2780-1.
 Paris: Demography, 191.
 Parliament: Acts, 9-14, 2188; Annual, 2206, 2213; Commons, 1523, 1861; Debates, 2214-17; Dissolution, 667, 1723; Lords, 2244; Members, 2205, 2220^a; Mercenary, 912^a; Petitions, 1046, 2271; Prorogation, 2209-10; Statutes, 2408; Miscellaneous, 1727, 2208, 2211-12, 2218, 2220, 2757-8. *See also* Elections, Politics, English.
 Passover, 292, 585^a, 897, 913, 1663-6, 1668-70, 2225, 2921.
 Pathology. *See* Arthritis, Cancer, Consumption, Fever, Plague, Purpura, Rheumatism, Rickets, Scurvy, Smallpox, Sweating Sickness, Thrush, Venereal Disease.
 Paul IV, Pope, 3.
 Penal Law, 2247-50, 3128^a.
 Penn, William, 644^a, 2247-9, 2251-5^a, 2416, 2458, 2954.
 Pennsylvania, 2253, 2891.
 Periodicals, 8, 217, 282, 332, 777, 809, 903, 1092, 1589-90, 1962, 1963, 2099, 2118-19, 2302, 2806.
 Persia, 664^a, 1110, 1197, 1539, 2166, 2261, 2554.
 Peru, 3058, 3060-1, 3195^a.
 Peter II, King of Portugal, 2573.
 Peter, St, 963^a.
 Petition, Right of, 2272.
 Phalaris, 270, 412, 1639.
 Pharmacy, 94, 221^a, 604, 846, 855, 973, 1181, 1254, 1372^a, 1833^a, 1970, 1983, 1988, 2014-15, 2142, 2294-5^a, 2315, 2390, 2662, 2817^a, 3001, 3197. *See also* Alchemy, Chemistry, Medicine: Remedies and Treatment, Purgatives, Quinine.
 Philadelphian Society, 3395^a.

- Philosophy, Ancient: Chinese, 835; Classical, 117-21, 129, 270, 354, 412, 670-1, 943^a, 969-70, 1003^a, 1058-9, 1449-50, 1479, 1540, 1639, 1685^a, 1869^a, 1945, 2311, 2356-9, 2535, 2567, 2724, 2773, 2886; Jewish, 558-8^a, 2301; Oriental, 738.
 Philosophy, Modern: Belgian Authors, 1763; Dutch Authors, 254, 954^a, 1310^a, 1408, 1470-2, 1486, 1647, 1891, 1988, 2518, 2742-3, 3063-3^a, 3063^a; English Authors, 159^a, 166-8, 171-5, 178-8^a, 353, 384, 495, 533, 538, 541, 803, 867, 896, 1038, 1038, 1781-3^a, 1791, 1793-1802^a, 1975, 2043-9, 2094, 2096, 2451^a, 2516, 2528, 2626-9, 2720, 2755, 2941-7, 3097; French Authors, 82, 124, 232, 236-7, 283-4, 601^a, 604, 609, 643, 673-4^a, 761-4, 773, 845^a, 1067, 1151, 1156, 1350^a, 1683^a, 1803-3^a, 1875-83^a, 2040-40^a, 2074, 2074^a, 2193, 2222-3, 2328, 2365^a, 2451, 2742, 2745, 2747, 2789-90, 2982, 3076; German Authors, 39; Italian Authors, 587-90^a, 1871, 2305; Spanish Authors, 1527-8, 2087; Anonymous, 1553^a, 2165. *See also* Ethics, Logic, Philosophy: Natural, Political Thought, Reason, Toleration.
 Philosophy, Natural: General, 2093^a; Belgian Authors, 1413-14; Danish Authors, 2767; Dutch Authors, 1300^a; English Authors, 163-70, 173, 244, 413, 439, 441, 450, 454, 457, 465, 470-1, 473, 1029, 1090, 1272, 1389, 1612-13, 1813-14, 2083, 2380, 3142-3; French Authors, 760, 784, 1380, 1402^a, 1685, 1908, 2057; German Authors, 1317, 1593; Italian Authors, 588, 722, 1120; Moravian Authors, 819^b. *See also* Agriculture, Alchemy, Chemistry, Comets, Conchology, Experiments, Inventions, Mathematics, Metals, Microscopy, Mineralogy, Natural

- History, Philosophy: Modern, Physics, Zoology.
- Phosphorescence, 438, 443.
- Physics, 207, 249, 290, 413-15, 445, 447-8, 460-2, 1353, 1466, 2189, 2266, 2281, 2497. *See also* Air, Light, Magnetism, Optics, Philosophy: Natural.
- Physiology, 80^a, 107, 439, 669, 1272, 1300-2, 1383^a, 1417, 1466^a, 1707-8, 2005, 2331, 2546, 2570-70^a, 2764-5, 2809^a. *See also* Anatomy, Apoplexy, Asthma, Blood, Brain, Child-birth, Deafness, Deformities, Diarrhoea, Digestive System, Embryology, Epilepsy, Eyesight, Flatulence, Glands, Haemorrhoids, Hermaphrodites, Hernia, Kidney, Lungs, Lymphatic System, Medicine, Muscular Motion, Nervous System, Respiratory System, Suffocation, Urine.
- Pink, Flower, 2121.
- Plagiarism, 2462.
- Plague, 962, 1125, 1438, 1467^a, 1642^b, 1651^c, 1657^b, 2322-4, 2422, 2534^a, 2891^a, 3031.
- Plantations, 2329, 2700.
- Platonism, 2724.
- Pneumatology, 762, 764.
- Poetry, 3112. *For texts see under individual languages.*
- Poisons, 1320. *See also* Opium.
- Poland, 645^a, 878-9, 2228^a, 2368.
- Political Thought, 85^a, 119, 144-5, 147, 203, 363-5, 476, 576, 730, 1007, 1120, 1122, 1291, 1293-4, 1340^a, 1347-7^a, 1387-8, 1465, 1490-2, 1525, 1695-6, 1697^a, 1710^a, 1813, 1848^a, 1852-3, 1856-7, 2054^a, 2074^a, 2145, 2367, 2401, 2403, 2407, 2522, 2525, 2591, 2666, 2849-50, 2925-7, 2999-3001, 3003-3^a, 3074^a, 3188. *See also* Church and State, Government, Monarchy, Philosophy.
- Politics, English, 4, 22-23, 72, 88, 178^b, 339, 356, 659-60, 807, 889-90^a, 956-7, 975, 987, 1045-7, 1049-51, 1069, 1089, 1091, 1136, 1161, 1172-3, 1185-6, 1193, 1200^{a-b}, 1278, 1285^b, 1286, 1295, 1298, 1474-6, 1574, 1632, 1724, 1726, 1727^a, 1729-30, 1753, 1826-8, 1935, 1994^a, 1996, 2084, 2093, 2097, 2114, 2122, 2200^a, 2226, 2257, 2270, 2325, 2351-5, 2451^b, 2465^a, 2467, 2569, 2641, 2702^a, 2733-7, 2737^b, 2756, 2800-800^a, 2802, 2919, 3024, 3044, 3048, 3167, 3185^a. *See also* Allegiance, Parliament.
- Polygamy, 58.
- Poor Relief, 1374^a.
- Popes. *See* Papacy.
- Porphyrius, Tyrius, 1479.
- Portugal, 831^b, 1206^a, 2148^a, 2373.
- Portuguese Literature, 51^{a-b}.
- Prayer, 3155^a.
- Prayer Book. *See* Book of Common Prayer.
- Prayers, 1010, 2383, 3158.
- Presbyterians, 2384-5.
- Press, Liberty, 357, 2390-3.
- Protestantism: England, 679, 685-6, 826; France, 779-9^a, 2397, 3081. *See also* Religious Controversy, Theology.
- Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens, 753, 759.
- Psalms, 77, 2234, 2772^a.
- Pufendorf, Samuel von, 2401-7.
- Purgatives, 1547, 2468.
- Purgatory, 2410.
- Purpura, 2079.
- Pythagoras, 1776.
- Quadrant, 917.
- Quakers, 201-2^a, 514, 644^a, 1037, 1614-24, 2251-5^a, 2412-21, 3078.
- Quelpart Island, 848.

- Quinine, 258, 1118.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, 1561, 2435-7^a.
- Reason, 538, 787, 1844, 1860, 2451^a, 3063^a. *See also* Philosophy.
- Recipes, 1420.
- Reference Books. *See* Bibliography, Dictionary, Grammar, Periodicals.
- Registry. *See* Land Registry.
- Religion, 251^a, 264, 666, 988, 1216, 1241, 1525^a, 1539, 2463, 2792^a, 3155. *See also* Theology.
- Religions, Diversity, 484.
- Religious Controversy: Dutch Authors, 1064^b, 1306, 1493-3^a, 1758, 2166^a, 3120^b; English Authors, 19, 159^a, 238, 543, 575^b, 614^a, 785, 1048, 1391, 1447, 1555, 1572, 1591, 1597, 1648, 1779, 1934-6, 2067, 2127, 2241, 2378, 2386, 2395, 2398, 2645-54, 2656-61, 2798, 2819, 2908, 2935-40, 2988-92, 3006, 3191; French Authors, 124-5, 620, 653, 737, 756, 845, 939^a, 1003^f, 1399, 1663-6, 1668-70, 1673, 1761, 1809, 2168, 2432, 2769^a, 3077; Italian Authors, 2185^b. *See also* Theology, Toleration.
- Remedies, Medical. *See* Medicine: Remedies and Treatment. *See also under individual diseases.*
- Remonstrants, 1333.
- Respiratory System, 1053, 1951, 2808. *See also* Lungs.
- Resurrection, 251, 454, 494.
- Revelation, 1215.
- Revolutions, 520.
- Rheumatism, 2816.
- Richelieu, Armand Jean Duplessis, *duc de*, *Cardinal*, 2482.
- Rickets, 1271, 1951.
- Ridicule, 255.
- Rome, Ancient: History, 85^a, 559-62^a, 904-4^a, 971, 1077, 1146-8^b, 1600-2^a, 1770-2^a, 1896-8^a, 1946-7^a, 2078, 2229-30^a, 2350-50^a, 2499-500^a, 2536-41, 2669-72, 2725, 2823-7^a, 3084, 3109.
- Royal Benefices, 1769.
- Royal Society of London, 161, 1321, 2302, 2506-7, 2752.
- Russia, 74, 1429, 1949, 2081.
- Sabbath, 871^a, 2520.
- Sacrifices, 2151.
- Saint Kilda Island, 1923.
- Saints, 1096, 1709, 1847.
- Salt, 813, 847.
- Salmea, 425.
- Sark, 3120.
- Sarpi, Paolo, 3, 1987^a, 2182-5^a.
- Saturn, 979, 1538^a.
- Scarborough, 2684-5, 3172^a.
- Schism, 936^a, 2650.
- Science. *See* Philosophy: Natural.
- Scientific Experiments. *See* Experiments.
- Scotland, Clergy, 2593: History, 139, 513^a, 873, 1859, 2592, 2596-7, 3169^a; Parliament, 20, 2594-5; Travel, 479, 1923-4, 3124-5.
- Scurvy, 669^a, 1074, 2469^a.
- Seignior, George, 1098.
- Sergeant, John, 1726, 2067, 2626-9.
- Sermons, 73, 211, 222, 251, 271^a, 378, 380-1, 481, 485, 521-4, 531, 601, 1030, 1031, 1164, 1168-9, 1178-9, 1184, 1202, 1217, 1448, 1485, 1582, 1635, 1659, 2630, 2644, 2655-6, 2688, 2723, 2770-1, 2782-6, 2902-4, 2906-7, 2909-18, 2920-20^a, 3127, 3139, 3151, 3160.
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st *Earl of*, 594, 2641, 2733.
- Siam, 678, 693, 1245, 1811-11^a, 2115, 2821-2, 3050.

- Silkworms, 1885, 3161.
 Simon, Richard, 754-5, 857, 976, 2026, 2673-82*, 2727.
 Sin, 2611.
 Sixtus V, Pope, 1720, 1722.
 Smallpox, 1660.
 Socinianism, 331, 757, 876, 878-84, 1026-7, 1062, 1377-8, 1595*, 1960, 2508-9, 2549-51, 2574-7, 2657, 2693-7, 2702, 2703*-12, 2748, 2905, 3009, 3079, 3103-4, 3170, 3174. *See also* Trinity, Unitarianism.
 Socrates, 670-1.
 Soto, Hernando de, 3059.
 Soul, 354, 495, 541, 1698-1704, 2165, 2720.
 Sovereignty, 1710*.
 Spa, Belgium, 1407-7*.
 Spain: History, 95-97, 576, 637, 1229, 1458, 2090, 2728-32; Travel, 1439-60.
 Spanish Literature, 651, 1304, 1354-5, 1527-8, 1704*, 2428-30.
 Spas. *See* Therapeutics.
 Spinoza, Benedict de, 1891, 2518, 2742-5, 3076.
 Spirits, 254, 338.
 Sports, 507, 1348, 1403.
 Stage. *See* Theatre.
 Stillingfleet, Edward, 150*, 679, 1793, 1796-8, 2774-90.
 Style, 2179*.
 Suffocation, 1584.
 Superstition, 907*, 1370*, 1915*. *See also* Magic, Witchcraft.
 Surat, 2160.
 Surgery, 100, 104-7, 300, 501*, 1123, 1186*, 1452, 1514, 1901, 2104, 2600-600*, 3060, 3100. *See also* Anatomy, Medicine, Physiology.
 Sweating Sickness, 2572.
 Sweden, 130-1, 703.
 Sydenham, Thomas, 2810-16*,
 Synagogues, 3098.
 Tacitus, Gaius Cornelius, 85*, 363, 1347*, 1957, 2823-7*.
 Tartaric Salt, 1833.
 Tangiers, 2830-1, 2881.
 Tartary, 280.
 Taxation, 871, 921, 2839-41.
 Test Act, 2200.
 Theatre, 810, 1406, 3088*.
 Theology: Belgian Authors, 1415, 1416*, 1562*, 2472; Dutch Authors, 370, 389-90*, 1060-60*, 1068, 1706*, 1754-7, 2683, 2796, 2985, 3003, 3063*, 3122; English Authors, 25, 84, 126, 136, 142*, 202*, 212, 299, 441, 495, 529, 533, 539, 728, 736*, 795, 974-4*, 985, 1030*, 1213, 1215, 1221, 1316, 1323, 1375-6, 1490-2, 1524, 1610, 1614-16, 1631, 1652-4, 1697*, 1704, 1744-5, 1748, 1774-5, 1802*, 1812, 1817, 1819*, 1996*, 2037-8, 2069, 2094-6*, 2107, 2235, 2243, 2410, 2470-3, 2483, 2547-8, 2701, 2762, 2788, 2842, 2884, 3025, 3047, 3140, 3146-8, 3153, 3155-5*, 3163, 3168, 3185, 3194, 3196; French Authors, 78, 98, 122*, 124-5, 343, 398, 577, 618, 649, 751, 760-7, 1002*, 1011, 1055, 1066-6*, 1531*, 1938-9, 1960, 2006*, 2057, 2190, 2545, 2599, 2611, 2682; German Authors, 80*, 1112, 2288-9, 2306, 2882; Italian Authors, 7, 2998; Spanish Authors, 1306, 3031*; Swiss Authors, 902, 1522*-5; Anonymous, 502, 975*. *See also* Anabaptists, Atheism, Baptism, Bible, Book of Common Prayer, Catechism, Catholicism, Christianity, Church Communion, Church Fathers, Church History, Church of England, Confession of Faith, Conformity, Convocation, Councils of the

- Church, Creeds, Deism, Dissenters, Episcopacy, Heretics, Holy Spirit, Idolatry, Inquisition, Jesuits, Jesus Christ, Jews, Latitudinarians, Laying on of Hands, Miracles, Morals, Non-Conformity, Papacy, Passover, Prayer, Prayers, Psalms, Quakers, Religion, Religious Controversy, Resurrection, Sabbath, Saints, Schism, Sermons, Socinianism, Soul, Thirty-nine Articles, Toleration, Transubstantiation, Trinity, Unitarians, Worship.
 Therapeutics, 208, 352, 395*, 467, 488, 658, 740, 789, 930, 1251, 1361, 1407-7*, 1585, 2684-5, 2754, 3172*. *See also* Gymnastics.
 Thermometer, 461-1*.
 Thescus, 1977.
 Thirty-nine Articles, 530.
 Thrush, Disease, 1630.
 Tide, 2899.
 Titles of Honour, 2608.
 Tobacco, 928, 1869, 2929.
 Tobago, 2491.
 Toinard, Nicolas, 403, 2930-4.
 Tököly, Imre, *gróf*, 2844.
 Toleration, 378-80, 555, 1206, 2820, 2941-55, 3047, 3081.
 Tonkin, 1906, 2928.
 Torpedo Fish, 1808*.
 Trade, 90-91, 93*, 100, 209, 255*, 552, 610-12, 684, 799, 811-13, 1004, 1340, 1922, 2000*, 2020, 2063, 2004*, 2197, 2240*, 2320, 2379, 2400, 2451*, 2800*, 2964-74, 3181-4.
 Tragedy, 2517.
 Transubstantiation, 1218.
 Travels and Voyages: General, 158, 250, 261-2, 260, 278, 344, 404, 502, 910-11, 994, 1190, 1233, 1370*, 1374, 1700, 2001-2, 2010, 2072, 2092, 2409, 2438, 2448, 2587, 2607, 2837-8, 2889-90, 3040, 3080, 3115, 3117-18, 3130;
 Africa, 122, 747, 1780, 1874, 1912, 2124; Algeria, 2494; Amazon, 16, 2167; America, North and South, 276, 411, 510, 918-18*, 1655-6, 2101-1*, 2125; America, North, 40, 624, 793, 951, 1421-2, 1451, 1487, 1588, 1706, 2960; America, South, 83*, 507, 853, 858-9, 1205, 1284-4*, 1437, 1680*, 1867, 2315; Antilles, 100, 2491*, 2858; Asia, 210, 407, 2128-30, 2300; Barbary, 18, 2296; Brazil, 206, 507, 1718, 2314; Canada, 401, 656-7, 906, 2100-1001, 2526-7; Cape of Good Hope, 2477; Carolina, 595-5; Ceylon, 180, 1649, 2478; Chile, 2152; China, 408, 477-8, 688-9, 827-8, 1097, 1108*, 1273-4, 1641, 1710, 1965-5*, 2087*, 2116, 2170, 2983-4; Cochinchina, 137, 395*; Denmark, 950, 1405; Egypt, 3128*; England, 2719; Ethiopia, 1830-1; Europe, 498-9, 527-8, 893, 1283, 1426, 1590*, 1928, 2231-2, 2446, 2585, 2750, 3116; Faroe Islands, 931; Florida, 1455, 1681, 3059; France, 1005, 1705, 3068; Gallies, 1209; Gaspesia, 778; Germany, 1580; Goa, 941, 1552; Greece, 3138; Greenland, 1328; Guinea, 390*, 1368, 3088; Hebrides, 1924; Iceland, 2280; India, 285-6*, 504, 604*, 942, 1197-8, 1253, 1545, 1864, 1867, 1904, 2025, 2279, 2411-11*, 2721, 2857; Isle of Man, 2523; Italy, 831*, 1108, 2583-5; Jamaica, 2692, 2978; Japan, 2120, 3050; Jersey, 1094; Korea, 848; Laos, 1906; Levant, 80, 246, 359, 592, 912, 1002*, 1108, 1199, 1242, 1404, 2028, 2085, 2376, 2423, 2553, 2750, 2888; Madagascar, 642*, 1001*, 1137, 2406; Madeira, 40, 1802; Malabar, 180; Mariana Islands, 1275; Morea, 2440; Morocco, 2531; Netherlands, 1103*, 2100; Newfoundland, 3145; Orkney Islands, 3124-5; Palestine, 203, 623*, 991, 2924; Panama, 3121; Pennsylvania, 2253, 2891;

- Persia, 664^a, 1119, 1197, 2166, 2261, 2554;
 Peru, 3058, 3060-1, 3195^a; Quelpart Island,
 848; Russia, 74, 1429, 1949, 2081; Saint
 Kilda, 1923; Sark, 3120; Scotland, 479, 1924;
 Siam, 678, 693, 1245, 1811-11^a, 2115, 2821-2,
 3050; Spain, 1459-60; Surat, 2160; Tangiers,
 2830-1, 2881; Tartary, 280; Tobago, 2491;
 Tonkin, 1906, 2928; Turkey, 546, 1099,
 2085, 2479, 2553; Ukraine, 245; Virginia,
 508-9, 518, 1383, 1395, 2700, 3096,
 3119, 3161.
See also Geography
 Travels, Imaginary, 2399, 2631.
 Treaties, 83, 130-1, 2061^a, 2974, 2979.
 Trees, 157, 350-1, 556, 996, 1194-6, 1236, 1327,
 1394, 1688, 2135-6, 2329-30.
 Trent, Council of, 3, 1228, 2185-5^a, 2981, 3052.
 Trinity, 142^a, 336, 723, 1165-6, 1214, 1526,
 2109, 2659-60, 2722, 2787, 2988-93, 3126^a,
 3159, 3163. *See also* Socinianism, Uni-
 tarianism.
 Tripoli, 2073.
 Triremes, 1955.
 Truth, 1875-80, 1882-3^a.
 Tuberculosis. *See* Consumption.
 Tulips, 2996.
 Turkey, 223, 546, 677, 1099, 2085, 2145, 2479,
 2553.
 Ukraine, 245.
 Unitarianism, 76, 336, 475, 3007-8, 3010-22^a.
See also Socinianism, Trinity.
 Universities, 1739.
 Urban VIII, Pope, 2074^a.
 Urine, 3164.
 Usury, 3030.
 Venereal Disease, 347-9, 1360^a, 1398^a, 1439^a,
 2041.
 Venice, 2070, 2184, 3064.
 Versailles, 3075.
 Vines, 2523^a.
 Vineyards, 1532.
 Vipers, 1^a, 662-3, 2454, 2632.
 Virgilius Maro, Publius, 2502^a, 2561, 3089-95.
 Virginia, 508-9, 518, 1383, 1395, 2700, 3096,
 3119, 3161.
 Voyages. *See* Travels and Voyages.
 Water, Pressure, 415.
 Water Hemlock, 3134.
 Weights and Measures, 51, 900, 1905, 2075.
 West Indies, 511-12, 844^a, 993, 994^a, 2530-30^a.
See also America: South, Antilles, Jamaica.
 Whigs, 3141.
 William III, King of England, 934-5, 1001,
 1305^a, 1576, 1730, 2134, 3152, 3157-9.
 Wiltshire Clergy, 782.
 Wisdom, 673, 674^a.
 Wit, 3057.
 Witchcraft, 862. *See also* Magic, Superstition.
 Women, 1104-5.
 Wool, 2843.
 Wool Trade, 2064^b, 2800^b, 3181-4.
 Worms, 731.
 Worship, 1312^b.
 Zoology, 54-57, 89, 117, 393, 614^a, 624^{a-b},
 1087^a, 1176-6^a, 1248, 1359-60, 1579, 3004.
See also Elephants, Insects, Natural History,
 Ornithology, Silkworms, Vipers, Worms.
 Zurich, Schola Carolina, 1522^a.

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INDEX

Acosta, José: 34.
 Alix, Pierre: 35, 36.
 Alphabetical suffixes:
 to press-marks: 35, 36, 37.
 to serial nos. in catalogue: 46.
 Amsterdam: 1, 17, 29.
 Anne, Queen: 58.
 Annotations made by Locke: 10, 39, Appendix II c.
 Anonymity, Locke's desire for: 5, 43.
 Anonymous works, method of cataloguing: 45, 48, 49.
 Arbuthnot, John: 58.
 Aristotle: 21.
 Arrangement of books in Locke's library: 14, 34, 35, 36, 37.
 Ascham, Roger: 26.
 Ashley Combe, Somerset: 56.
 Attributions of authorship by Locke: 24 n., 43.
 Bacon, Francis: 24, 41.
 Bagshaw, Edward: 52 n.
 Barber & Co., Messrs A. & C.: 61.
 Barlow, Dr Thomas: 13, 30.
 Barnes, Surrey: 59.
 Barrow, Isaac: 44, 45.
 Baumgarten, Martin von: 28.
 Ben Damp Forest: 9, 10, 16 n., 19 n., 31, 53, 56, 57.
 Beza, Theodorus: 35, 36.
Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique: 26 n., 29, 40.
 Birch, Thomas: 58.
 Bodleian Library: 3, 8 n., 9, 15, 16 n., 19 n., 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33 n., 37, 38, 47, 48, 52 n., 55, 57, 287. Nos. 23^b, 24, 25, 360, 940, 1312^b, 1427, 1428, 1468, 1712, 1713, 1948, 1973, 2030, 2440, 2890, 3046.
 Booklists made by Locke. See Catalogues made by Locke.
 Book-marks: 27, 39.
 Bourges, Jacques de: 28.
 Boyle, Robert: 4, 13, 23, 24, 38, 41.
 British Museum: 59.
 Brownover, Sylvester: 31, 31 n., 32, 33, 33 n., 51.
 Bumpus, Messrs: 61.
 Burnes, Thomas: 39, 39 n.
 Byron, Lord: 56.
 Cambridge Platonists: 6.
 Catalogues made by Locke:
 French booklists: 14, 286.
 Books at Christ Church: 14, Appendix I.
 Dutch purchases: 15, 286.
 Books in London, before move to Otes: 15, 16, 286.
 Books with Tyrrell: 17, 286, 287.
 Adaptation of Hyde: 30, 31.
 Auxiliaries to Hyde: 32, 33, 285.
 Cataloguing, Locke's practice: 14, 30, 31, 37, 38, 45, 47, 48, 59.
 Chandler, Edward: 58.

Child, Sir Josiah: 25 n.
 Choisy, François Timolton de: 28, 33, 34, 37, 38.
 Christ Church, Oxford: 2, 3, 5, 13, 14, 27, 42, 57, Appendix I. Nos. 399, 1189, 2315, 2553, 2635, 3047, 3156.
Christian Magazine: 59.
 Christ's College, Cambridge: 6.
 Churchill, Awnsham: 19 n., 43.
 Churchill, John: 8 n., 19 n., 43.
 Clarabut, C. E. R., London: Nos. 964, 2805.
 Clarke, Edward: 9, 26, 44.
 Claudianus, Claudius: 60 n.
 Collins, Anthony: 8, 9, 44, 55, 57.
 Cooper, Maurice Ashley: 44.
 Coste, Pierre: 10, 44, 55, 57.
Critical Review: 59.
 Cross-references supplied by editors: 45, 48, 49.
 Cudworth, Ralph: 6, 22, 58, 59.
 Davenant, Charles: 25.
 Davis, Robert: 59.
 Deagent, Guichard: 36.
 Descent of Locke's books. See King moiety and Masham moiety.
 Development of Locke's library:
 Books in London during years with Shaftesbury (1667-82): 2, 16.
 Acquisitions in France (1677-9): 14, 14 n.
 Books at Christ Church (1681): 14, 15, Appendix I.
 Books kept by Tyrrell (1684-91): 3, 17.
 Acquisitions in Holland (1686-9): 4, 15, 18.
 Transfer of books to Otes: 17.
 Books left in London (1692-1704): 16, 17.
 Final collection at Otes: 18 ff.
 Division of Locke's library in 1704: 8, 46, 55, 56, 285, Appendix IV.
 Dodd, Dr: 59.
 Donne, John: 29.
 Dryden, John: 29.
 Duplication signs: 40, 42.
 Early printed books in Locke's library: 21.
 Economic works in Locke's library: 25. See also Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Edinburgh University Library: No. 2518.
 Educational works in Locke's library: 26. See also Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Edwards, H. W., Ashmore Green, Newbury: No. 1314.
 Edwards, John: 8.
Elion Basilike Deutera: 37.
 Elyon, Sir Thomas: 26.
 English literature in Locke's library: 29. See also Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Evelyn, John: 12, 12 n.
 Exclusion Controversy: 19, 51.
 Filmer, Sir Robert: 39.

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington: 46, 287. No. 24.
 Fortescue, Hester: 56 n.
 Fox Bourne, Henry Richard: 60.
 Foxwell, Herbert Somerton: 53 n.
 Fractional numerical references: 33, 34, 37.
 France: 2, 4, 13, 14, 14 n., 20, 21, 24, 25, 28.
 Fraser, Alexander Campbell: 60.
 Futly, Benjamin: 4 n., 12.
 Gallois: 24.
 Garcilasso de la Vega: 28.
 Gennadeion, Athens: No. 677.
 Gifts of books from Locke's library: 11, 44, 45.
 Glasgow University Library: Nos. 823, 1321, 1740, 1967, 2143.
 Golding Palmer, Henry: 60.
 Golding Palmer, Mrs: 60, 61.
 Goldsmiths' Library, Senate House, London: 50, 52, 53 n., 287. Nos. 93^a, 133, 489, 532, 644^b, 797, 798, 920, 937, 1067^a, 1196, 1467, 1562, 1576, 1726, 1727, 1727^a, 1779, 1936^a, 2395^a, 2451^a, 2471, 2664^a, 2716^a, 2730, 2757, 2923, 2926, 2966^a, 3159.
 Graunt, John: 25.
 Gregory, David: 60 n.
 Grotius, Hugo: 43.
 Hakluyt, Richard: 28.
 Harley, Edward: 58.
 Harvard University: 38 n., 45, 287. Nos. 178^a, 212^a, 444, 2434.
 Headings used by Locke: 43, 44, 45, 48, 50.
 Hertford College, Oxford: 60 n. No. 738.
 Heylyn, Peter: 41 n.
 Hill, Abigail: 58, 61.
 Hobbes, Thomas: 22, 23, 39.
 Holland: Locke's life during exile: 3-51 43; books acquired or used there: 4, 15, 21, 23, 26, 28, 30, 36; books left there: 11, 50.
 Hollis, Thomas: 45.
 Holme Park, Berkshire: 59, 60.
 Horblit, Harrison D., New York: No. 1538.
 Horsley Towers, Surrey: 56, 57.
 Houghton Library, Harvard. See Harvard University.
 Huggins, John: 13.
 Hyde, Thomas: 30.
 Hyde, Locke's master-catalogue:
 Acquisition: 30.
 How used by Locke for cataloguing: 30, 31, 37, 38.
 Modifications made by editors: 43-50.
 Titles not entered: 53, 54, Appendix III.
 Imprint analysis of Locke's library: 20, 21.
 Income available to Locke: 1, 2, 3, 5.
 Incunabula in Locke's library: 21.
 Interleaved books in Locke's library: 10, 38, 39, 39 n., Appendix II n.
 Jaquodot, Isaac: 43.

INDEX

311

Jerome P. Webster Library, Columbia University: No. 1530.
 Jordan, Edward: 14, 35.
 Journals in Locke's library: 29, 30.
 Keynes, Sir Geoffrey: 41 n., 57, 287. Nos. 296, 415, 1410, 1440^a, 2562.
 King moiety: 8, 9, 10, 38 n., 39 n., 52, 55, 55 n., 56, 57, 285.
 King, Gregory: 25.
 King, Peter, 1st Lord: 8, 9, 31 n., 51, 55, 285.
 King, Peter, 7th Lord: 56, 57 n.
 Kneiler, Sir Godfrey: 9, 10.
 Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian: 24 n.
 La Loubère, Simon de: 28.
 La Martinière, Pierre Martin de: 28.
 Language analysis of Locke's library: 15, 19, 20.
 Law, Edmund: 59.
 Le Clerc, Charles: 43.
 Le Clerc, Jean: 26 n., 29, 30, 43.
 Lederer, John: 29.
 Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm: 6, 58.
 Léry, Jean de: 28.
 Letter I in margin: 30, 31, 46, 47, 48.
 Letters b, be, or c inside front cover: 32, 42, 42 n.
 Library of College of Physicians, Philadelphia: No. 1911.
 Locke, John, senior: 1, 41 n.
 Locke, John, junior:
 Student of Christ Church: 2.
 In Shaftesbury's service: 2.
 Travels in France: 2.
 Exile in Holland: 3-5.
 Residence at Otes: 6-10.
 Will: 8.
 Locke, John, works:
Advocatus: 11, 16 n., 26, 43, 286.
De Government civili: 41.
Epistola de Tolerantia: 43.
Essay concerning Human Understanding: 4, 5, 16, 17, 23, 27, 28, 37, 43.
Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina: 43.
Herbarium Vivum: 26, 27 n.
Lettera: 11, 19, 19 n., 26.
Letters on Toleration: 4, 43.
Method of a Common Place Book: 26.
Reasonableness of Christianity: 23, 33 n., 43.
Some Thoughts concerning Education: 4, 26, 36, 43.
Thoughts on Reading and Study for a Gentleman: 23.
Two Treatises of Government: 3, 3 n., 22 n., 26 n., 39, 43.
Vindications of Reasonableness of Christianity: 43.
 London portion of Locke's library: 2, 3, 15-57, 58, 44, 286.
 Lovelace Collection: 8 n., 9 (origin of title), 16 n., 27 n.
 Lovelace, 1st Earl of: 9, 56.
 Lovelace, 3rd Earl of: 57 n.
 Luther, Martin: 22.
 Machiavelli, Niccolò: 21, 23.
 Macpherson, Crawford Brough: 25, 25 n.
 Manuscript notebooks kept by Locke: 11, 16 n., 19, 19 n.
 Marlborough, Duchess of: 58.
 Marshall Library, Cambridge: No. 209.

- Martin, Henry: 43.
 Martyr, Peter: 28.
 Masham society: 8, 46, 55, 55 n., 57-61, 285.
 Masham, Abigail: 58, 61.
 Masham, Damaris: 6-8, 22, 33 n., 39, 44, 55, 55 n., 57, 58, 60.
 Masham, Esther: 55 n.
 Masham, Sir Francis: 6, 7, 58.
 Masham, Francis Cudworth: 8, 9, 10, 44, 55, 58, 60, 285.
 Masham, Samuel, 1st Lord: 58.
 Masham, Samuel, and Lord: 57, 58, 59.
 Medical works in Locke's library: 24. *See also* Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Mellon, Paul: 10, 16 n.
 Milton, John: 16, 26, 26 n., 29.
 Montagu, Edward Wortley: 59.
 Navarette, Domingo Fernández: 28.
 New York Public Library: Nos. 205, 3063.
 Newton, Isaac: 9, 10, 12, 13, 24, 25, 25 n., 29, 30, 39, 41, 45, 60.
 North, Sir Dudley: 43.
 Nye, Stephen: 23.
 Oak Spring, Upperville, Virginia: 10, 12 n., 37, 39 n., 56 n., 60 n., 287.
Locke books at Oak Spring are shown in the catalogue.
 Oakley, Bucks: 3, 17, 22, 28, 54.
 Ockham Park, Surrey: 55, 57.
 Osborn, J. M., Yale: Nos. 1323, 1424.
 Osler Library, McGill University: Nos. 2401, 3095.
 Overlining of pagination: 33, 42, 46, 48, 50, 53.
 Ovington, John: 28.
 Oxford Botanic Garden: 26, 27.
 Oxford portion of Locke's library: 2, 3, 14, 15, 17, 28, Appendix I.
 Page lists in Locke's books: 38, 42, Appendix II C.
 Palmer, Richard: 60, 60 n.
 Palmer, Robert: 59, 60, 60 n.
 Palmer, Suzanne: 60.
 Pamphlets in Locke's library: 51-54.
 Paper-books: 2, 16, 26.
 Paracelsus: 24.
 Paraph: 41, 42, Appendix II A.
 Pawling, Mr: 16, 54, 55.
 Peganius, A. B.: 24 n.
 Pepys, Samuel: 12.
 Periodicals in Locke's library: 29, 30.
 Peterborough, Lord: 9.
 Petty, Sir William: 25.
 Philosophical works in Locke's library: 21-23. *See also* Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Physick Garden, Oxford: 26, 27.
 Plume, Dr Thomas: 12 n.
 Pope, Alexander: 58.
 Popish Plot: 14, 16.
 Posts occupied by Locke: 2, 5, 43.
 Powell, Mr: 34 n.

- Press-marks: 32, 34, 35-37, 42, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51-52, 54.
 Pressed flowers collected by Locke: 26, 27, 27 n.
 Price-marks: 34, 42, 53.
 Psalmanazar, George: 35, 36.
 Purchas, Samuel: 28.
 Quality signs: 40, 42.
 Rabby-Smithsby, Mrs: 3, 16.
 Rand, Benjamin: 38, 38 n.
 Reference books in Locke's library: 29, 30. *See also* Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Roots, Ivan, Cardiff: No. 1371.
 Rotterdam: 3, 4, 5, 11, 25.
 Royal Society: 2, 24, 29.
 St. John's College, Cambridge: 14 n., 39 n., 56 n. No. 2656.
 Scientific works in Locke's library: 23-25. *See also* Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Senhouse, Roger, London: No. 223.
 Sergeant, John: 39, 39 n., 56 n.
 Serial numbers supplied by editors: 45, 50.
 Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st Earl of: 2, 3, 4, 16, 29.
 Shaftesbury, 3rd Earl of: 9, 29, 44, 58.
 Shaw, William: 34.
 Shelving of books in Locke's library: 14, 34, 35, 36, 37.
 Signature of Locke inside front cover of books: 33, 42.
 Socinus, Faustus: 23, 44.
 Sociological works in Locke's library: 25. *See also* Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Spine labels: 32, 37, 42.
 Spinoza, Benedict de: 22.
 Statistics of Locke's library: 11, 12, 17, 18, 54, 55, 56.
 Strachey family: 41 n.
 Subject analysis of Locke's library: 15, 18, 19, 22-25, 27-29, Appendix V.
 Swansea University College: No. 2755.
 Swift, Jonathan: 58.
 Tasman, Abel Janszoon: 28.
 Taylor, Jeremy: 60 n.
 Techo, Nicolas del: 28.
Term Catalogues: 16, 30.
 Terry, Edward: 28, 38.
 Theological works in Locke's library: 22, 23. *See also* Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Thévenot, Melchisédec: 28.
 Thomas, David: 4.
 Thomas, Gabriel: 28-29.
 Toinard, Nicolas: 39 n.
 Toland, John: 38.
 Travel literature in Locke's library: 13, 27-29. *See also* Subject analysis of Locke's library.
 Trinity College, Cambridge: 10 n., 12 n., 60, 60 n. Nos. 1313, 2082, 2083.
 Tyrrell, James: 3, 11 n., 16, 17, 17 n., 22, 32, 51 n., 54, 286.
 Underlining of date of publication: 33, 42, 45, 46, 48, 50, 53.
 Unidentified books in Hyde: 47.

- Unitarianism: 23.
 University of Southern California Library, Los Angeles: Nos. 374, 376, 384.
 Valle, Pietro della: 28.
 Velachius, Georg Hieronymus: 39.
 Vossius, Isaac: 28.
 Waller, Miss M., Oxford: No. 1997.
 Webster, Jerome P. *See* Jerome P. Webster Library, Columbia University.
 Weinstein, Abraham: vii n., 5, 29.
 Williams, Mrs. M. G. M.: 60.
 Yale University Library: 39 n., 48, 50, 52, 52 n., 53, 287.
 Nos. 69, 97, 159, 215, 290, 614, 912, 930, 937, 974, 975, 1032, 1299, 1530, 1632, 1794, 1795, 1961, 2000, 2118, 2119, 2272, 2387, 2392, 2398, 2411, 2411, 2664, 2737, 2737, 2800, 2850, 2993, 3088.

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